

SOCIETAL INFLUENCES AND GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIVENESS IN
POLICY COMMUNITIES: EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING IN ZIMBABWE

By

MARY E. SPEAR

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1993

Copyright 1993

by

Mary E. Spear

To my family--mom, dad, and sister Nova--who have offered me endless love, support, kindness, and encouragement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a number of people who have made this dissertation possible. I am grateful to members of my doctoral committee who have encouraged me and offered me constructive criticism. I want to express my particular gratitude to Goran Hyden, my chair, for his excellent advice, patience, encouragement, vision, and his ability to challenge me. Goran Hyden has served as an excellent role model of an academic committed to excellent research, teaching, and service.

I am also thankful to Walter Rosenbaum, David Conradt, and Rene Lemarchand whose courses and research have inspired me to develop this dissertation. I want to also thank Steve Sanderson and Ken Wald for the assistance they have provided me at the University of Florida. I appreciate all of David Hedge's helpful suggestions for my dissertation. Working with both David Hedge and Richard Scher as a teaching and research assistant has been a major highlight of my graduate career. I am grateful to Doyle Casteel and Richard Renner for helping me to better understand education policy. I thank Doyle Casteel for his suggestions on my dissertation.

I am very appreciative of the support, friendship, and encouragement of many Zimbabweans who have helped me to make

my dissertation vision a reality. Bernard Gatawa, Boniface Chivore, and Betty Jo Dorsey, education specialists, have offered tremendous support to me in the design and analysis of this research task. Surveys by Betty Jo Dorsey and Philip Foster in Zimbabwe and Ghana, respectively, have stimulated my own research tremendously. Solomon Nkiwane and Gordon Allan of the University of Zimbabwe served as enlightening professors in 1989.

I am also grateful to the Minister of Education in 1991, Fay Chung, for agreeing to an interview with me, and other Ministry of Education officials who asked to remain nameless. My Zimbabwean friends deserve my appreciation for their kindness and support during my research phase: Betty Rukasha; Agnes and Nsingo; Matjaka; Rosemary and Veronica Kalunga; Lilian, Godfrey, and Bongani Ndlovu; Lindie Dube; Harry, Lynda, and Caroline Fincham; Jeffret Muzira; Pontso and Mrs. Mafethe; Dr. Zengeni; Lilian and Tom de Chassart; the Zderbergs; Lymon Betah; and Margarat Nyarota. I want to thank Vice Chancellor of Africa University, Dr. Kurewa, for his vision. I am grateful to all the students, teachers and headmasters involved in my survey--masvita.

I am also deeply indebted to Rotary International and the Ford Foundation for making my trips to Zimbabwe possible. While they are in no way responsible for this dissertation, both Rotary and the Ford Foundation have offered me support. Peter Fry and Michael Chege of the Ford

Foundation, deserve my appreciation for their support and friendship. Members of the Harare Central and Silver Spring, Maryland Rotary Clubs have supported me as a Rotary Graduate scholar. I am particularly appreciative for the love and support I have received from Rotarians Tom Lawson and Tom de Chassart.

I want to recognize Donald Gordon, Professor of Political Science at Furman University for stimulating my interest in Africa while I was on foreign study to Kenya. Other Furman professors to whom I am indebted are James Guth, Donald Aiesi, and Cleve Fraser. My Furman friends, Jennie Smith, Kim Opperman, and Lea Alexander, continue to be a source of inspiration for me.

To my mom, dad, and sister Nova, I am so fortunate to have such a loving and supportive family who are also experts on the computer. Kevin Hill has been my best friend and boyfriend for seven years, I thank him for all the good times we have had and for his love, friendship, sense of humor, and insight. I would like to thank other individuals who have inspired me such as Madeleine K. Albright, Eleanor Roosevelt, Sissela Bok, Maya Angelou, Martin Luther King Jr., Mohandas Gandhi, and Vaclav Havel. I want to acknowledge the words of Martin Luther King Jr., "You ought to believe something in life, believe that thing so fervently that you will stand up with it till the end of your days . . . We have a power, a power as old as the

insights of Jesus of Nazareth and as modern as the
techniques of Mahatma Gandhi."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
ABSTRACT	xiv
CHAPTERS	
1 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIVENESS TO SOCIETAL INFLUENCES IN POLICY COMMUNITIES	1
Overview	1
Importance of Studying Education Policy in Zimbabwe	6
The Limitations of the State-Society Approach	9
The Conceptual Building Blocks of the New Policy Communities Approach	17
Policy Community Approaches	28
The Policy Communities Approach	32
Explanation of the Model	37
Policy Communities and Their Relationships to Model and Theories	40
Comparison of the New Policy Communities Approach with Prior Perspectives	45
Governmental Responsiveness to Societal Influence in Educational Policy-Making	47
Three Hypotheses	50
The Linkage Between Societal Preferences (Public Opinion) and Policy	55
Methodology	56
The Significance of This Study	62
Organization of the Dissertation	66
2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN EDUCATION POLICY IN ZIMBABWE	68
The Important Role That Ethnicity and the Family Has Played in the History of Education Policy	68

Zimbabwe Education Policy From a Historical Perspective	74
Munhumutapa Kingdom and Societal Pressures on Education Policy	75
British Missionary and Colonial Influence in Zimbabwe--1850-1939--Paternalist Phase	78
Rise of African Consciousness and Conflicts with Government--1940-61--Growing Awareness Phase	82
Liberation War--1962-79--Liberationist Phase	93
Societal Demands Influence Government Policy in Independent Zimbabwe--1980-1987--Populist Phase	98
Government-Societal Relations-Mixed Results--1988-present--Conflictual Phase	102
Conclusion	104
 3 GENERAL VIEWS ON THE EDUCATION POLICY PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE	107
Overview	107
Discussion of Components of the Model	108
Key Policy Actors and Their Preferences	108
Societal Efforts to Mobilize Their Resources	122
Degree of Openness	133
Degree of Consultation	138
Government Responsiveness to Societal Influence During Decision-Making	149
Conclusion	153
 4 CLOSED GOVERNMENT POLICY COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION POLICY	156
Introduction to University Education Policy	156
Theoretical Perspective on University Autonomy	158
The Origin of the University of Zimbabwe and the Development of Government-Societal Conflicts	162
A Period of Relative Calm in Societal-Governmental Relations in University Policy: 1980-1986	165
The University of Zimbabwe Act of 1982	167
An Important Year in Tracing the Closure of the Policy Community to Societal Involvement: 1987	168
Government-Societal Relations at the University of Zimbabwe--1988-present: An Example of a Closed Government Policy Community	170
Divergent Preferences and Mobilization of Resources	170
Exclusive Decision-Making Under a Crisis Situation: The Case of the Closure of the University of Zimbabwe	179

The Strong Government Role in the University After the Closing of the University in 1989	181
The Closed Government Policy Community Decides on the UZ Amendment Bill, NUST Bill and the NCHE Bill	184
Societal Reaction to the 1990 Bills	192
The Precarious Position of the Vice Chancellor in University Policy	196
University Demonstrations in 1992	199
Explanations for a Closed Government Policy Community During a Period of Democratization	201
Conclusion	208
5 OPEN CONFLICTUAL POLICY COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SCHOOL FEES	211
Overview	211
Educational Financing in Zimbabwe	212
Key Policy Actors	216
Policy Issues in Educational Financing	217
The Emergence of an Open Conflictual Policy Community	219
Evidence of the Open Conflictual Policy Community	222
6 CLOSED COOPERATIVE POLICY COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF CURRICULUM POLICY	230
Overview	230
Preferences	231
The Role of the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development Unit	233
Close Examination of Curriculum Policies	238
The Conflict Between Practical and Academic Education	238
The Case of Science Education and the Example of Resource Mobilization	246
Discussion of Components of the Model	248
Degree of Consultation	248
Government Responsiveness During Decision- Making and the Policy Outcome	251
Conclusion	253
7 GOVERNMENT DIRECTED POLICY COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS	255
Overview	255
Discussion of Teacher Training	258
Benefits of Teacher Training	258
Different Teacher Training Programs	259
Discussion of Model	264

Preferences	264
Hypothesis-Testing	269
Evidence of the Government Directed Policy Community	271
8 CONCLUSION: THE POLICY COMMUNITIES APPROACH TO STUDYING POLICY DECISION-MAKING	274
Overview	274
Conclusions	275
State-Society Relations	275
Policy Processes	280
Politics in Zimbabwe	293
Political Democratization	305
APPENDICES	
A STUDENTS SURVEY--STUDY OF ZIMBABWEAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS	315
B TEACHERS SURVEY--STUDY OF ZIMBABWEAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS	323
C QUESTIONS FOR HEADMASTERS	330
REFERENCES	335
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	343

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3-1.	
Comparison of Societal and Governmental Greatest Needs	119
Table 3-2.	
Teachers' Resources to Make Their Concerns Known to the Government	123
Table 3-3.	
Comparison of How Teachers Make Their Concerns Known to Government in Rural and Urban Areas	124
Table 3-4.	
Differences Between Male and Female Teachers Regarding Access to the Central Government	125
Table 3-5.	
Teachers' Access to the Central Government to Raise Their Concerns	126
Table 3-6.	
Comparison Between Students and Teachers on Community Involvement in Education Policy	134
Table 3-7.	
Students' and Teachers' Perceptions of Whether the Central Government Considers the Needs of Students, Teachers, and Societal Groups When Deciding Education Policy	136

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1. Indicators for Policy Community Models . .	36
Figure 1-2. Model of Governmental Responsiveness to Societal Influences	38
Figure 1-3. Comparison of Approaches Studying Policy- Making	48
Figure 1-4. Policy Communities in Relation to Concepts of Crisis/Non-Crisis and State/Society Approaches	49
Figure 1-5. Schools Included in Survey	60
Figure 5-1. A Summary of the School Fees Case and Its Application to the Model	224

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

SOCIETAL INFLUENCES AND GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIVENESS IN
POLICY COMMUNITIES: EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING IN ZIMBABWE

By

Mary E. Spear

August 1993

Chairman: Goran Hyden

Major Department: Political Science

This dissertation has examined the extent to which education policy in Zimbabwe is being shaped by societal interests and/or government initiatives. The policy communities approach, which offers four policy communities types, is used to assess the interaction between society, government, and state actors, and it transcends the limitations of the state-society relations approach. Academics studying this topic in the developing world often assume that the government is the principal actor in education policy; however, this study reveals that societal groups play an important role in policy-making and democratization.

A major finding in this dissertation was the wide range of government responsiveness to education policies, from very responsive to not responsive at all. To judge

responsiveness, 1,000 surveys from headmasters, teachers, and students at 31 representative Zimbabwean secondary schools were gathered, along with an interview with the Minister of Education, and secondary source materials. This information revealed that: 1) policy-making is not as open and democratic as societal actors want, 2) societal actors have some influence in policy-making through parent-teacher, headmaster, and teacher groups, 3) the greatest needs of government and society differ and conflict, and 4) the societal groups perceive that the government's responsiveness to them differs according to gender and whether they work in urban or rural areas.

Another major finding of this dissertation was that the following factors lead to democratic public policy-making: 1) the ability of strong societal groups to mobilize more powerful resources than the government, 2) the issue and political good provide a decisive advantage to societal groups over the government, 3) the ability of societal actors during a crisis situation to mobilize state actors (such as the Parliament, District Councils, and/or the courts) on their behalf, 4) the societal groups' ability to mobilize the bureaucracy on its behalf during a non-crisis situation, 5) the openness of policy communities, and 6) a high degree of consultation in policy communities. These factors are also responsible for linking societal preferences with policy-making outcomes.

CHAPTER 1
THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:
GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIVENESS TO SOCIETAL INFLUENCES
IN POLICY COMMUNITIES

Overview

Education is important to parents, children, and society at large because it signals a path to opportunity. In Africa, parents invest in their children's education by building schools, maintaining them, and paying school fees. Consequently, parents expect the government to be responsive to the needs of their children when it makes education policy. Likewise, teachers and headmasters invest in their schools and they want government to be open, democratic, and responsive to their needs.

Governments in most African countries devote the largest percentage of their national budgets to education because they view education as a relatively inexpensive means to socialize youths and families into the nation-state (Fuller, 1991, p. xvii). For example, in Zimbabwe's 1991/92 budget, 16.3% of Zimbabwe's total expenditure was for education, which was its largest expenditure, followed by defense, which required 10.3% of the total expenditure ("Introductory Survey," 1992). In Botswana's 1991/92 budget, 21.7% of the expenditure went to education, while 8%

went to defense ("Introductory Survey," 1992). In Ghana, 25.5% of the government's total spending was for education in 1990, while Rwanda spent 25.4% of its total expenditure on education in 1989 ("Introductory Survey," 1992).

The government uses education to signal the provision of opportunity and equity which it hopes will enhance its legitimacy and authority (Fuller, 1991, p. xiii). Although governmental and societal actors share some common education objectives--the provision of opportunity--they are likely to disagree about education policy. This research will examine the extent to which societal needs and preferences are incorporated in the education policy-making community, using Zimbabwe as a case study.

Academics studying education and politics in the developing world, such as Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoff, often assume that the government is the principal actor in education policy (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990), but they, like others, do not provide adequate empirical evidence to verify this proposition. Societal influence has been neglected. Therefore, this dissertation will demonstrate the relevance of examining the role of societal influence in education policy in Zimbabwe.

This study will use insights from comparative politics, policy process, and public administration to explain the role of government, state, and societal actors (participants) in education policy-making in the developing

world. This dissertation straddles the fields of comparative politics and comparative policy and is derived from three major literature bases in political science and they are (1) state-society theory, (2) policy community theory, and (3) open and closed system theory. Specifically, this dissertation is concerned with education policy but it also addresses many of the concerns of comparativists, notably as they study governance and democratization.

In the current age of political liberalization and democratization in Africa, much is being written about societal protests, government responses, and reversals (Huntington, 1991, Bienen & Herbst, 1991, Hyden & Bratton, 1992, and Bratton, 1989). Yet, this debate has been framed almost entirely in either optimist or pessimist predictions. Optimists examine the positive signs of liberalization and pessimists identify signs of democratic reversals to authoritarianism. Yet, at the heart of democracy is the issue of whether society believes that its preferences are represented in government policy and almost no research currently exists which considers societal preferences and whether those preferences are reflected in policy in the developing world.

Political scientists have a long-term interest in the democratic processes of public policy. Citizen participation in public policy-making has been accepted as

an indicator of democracy. Political scientists Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro suggest, "The responsiveness of government policies to citizens' preferences is a central concern of various normative and empirical theories of democracy" (Page and Shapiro, 1983, p. 175). One major criticism of public opinion literature is that it is unable to link opinion and preferences with policy outcome. Due to this limitation, political scientists have been frustrated when they try to assess how democratic the policy-making process is in any particular country. This dissertation will attempt to correct this limitation by offering a policy communities approach in which government, state, and societal preferences are linked with the policy decision in order to determine if the policy is democratically made.

One inspiration for this dissertation was my fascination with the following predictive question: under what circumstances are societal preferences reflected in policy? This has and will remain a key question of democratic theory and public policy formation throughout my study. The ability of societal actors to have a voice in policy-making is critical to our notion of democracy.

Some Africanist scholars are presently concerned with finding out what factors lead to democratization in Africa (Hyden & Bratton, 1992). I will examine what factors are present in constructive government-societal relations and what factors are present in destructive relations. The

study of governance has begun to look at what factors are necessary for constructive government-societal relations yet more empirical work is needed. Governance, according to Hyden, is concerned with how rules (or structures) affect political action and the prospect of solving given societal problems (Hyden, 1992, p. 14). Yet, there is a real need for research to identify which factors are most likely to produce constructive relations between state and society (Bratton & Rothchild, 1992, p. 283). This dissertation will identify the constructive and destructive factors that are present in one sector, education policy. In chapter 8, I will identify what factors lead to positive and negative interactions between government and society in education policy communities in Zimbabwe.

A policy community consists of a group of actors who directly influence the choice of a public policy. A policy that is democratically made is one in which societal actors participate directly in the decision-making policy community. I will test the usefulness of this policy communities approach by examining four case studies of education policy-making implemented in Zimbabwe in order to discover how responsive the government is to societal preferences regarding policy.

The first major question in my dissertation is as follows: Does the government respond to societal influences in making education policy? The second major question is,

what factors lead to democratic public policy-making? Chapter Eight will address both questions in detail; however, it is useful to introduce six factors that lead to democratic and responsive public policy-making in the subsection of this chapter entitled, "Governmental Responsiveness to Societal Influence in Education Policy-Making."

The following issues will be discussed in this chapter: the limitations of the state-society approach, the conceptual building blocks of the new policy communities approach, policy community approaches, the policy communities approach, explanation of the model, policy communities and their relationships to model and theories, comparison of the new policy communities approach with prior perspectives, governmental responsiveness to societal influence in educational policy-making, three hypotheses, the linkage between societal preferences and policy, methodology, the significance of the study, and the organization of the dissertation. Next, it is important to discuss why Zimbabwean education policy was selected to test the usefulness of the policy communities approach.

Importance of Studying Education Policy in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwean education policy was chosen for intensive study for the following reasons. First, I was a student at the University of Zimbabwe in October 1989 and I witnessed

the first major outbreaks of societal protests against the government when students protested against government corruption. While at the University of Zimbabwe, I began to study education policy issues such as teacher training and curriculum policy. Second, I returned to Zimbabwe in 1991 to work primarily for the Ford Foundation in its Education and Culture Section, and I realized that many interesting events were occurring in Zimbabwe that affected political democratization and that they could--and should--be studied more intensely. Third, I should mention that Jeffrey Herbst's book from 1991 entitled State Politics in Zimbabwe, which was one of the first major works on the policy-making process in Zimbabwe was a main source of inspiration. Building on his work, I decided that a sector-specific study would be the best way of further enhancing policy-making in Zimbabwe. For these reasons, I chose to study Zimbabwean education policy.

The author has collected evidence from Zimbabwean actors which indicates that societal actors do indeed play important roles in shaping education policy. Yet, questions remain about how influential societal groups actually are in determining education policy-making, and under what conditions they are. I will examine whether societal groups are included in education policy communities. Further, I will discover what factors are responsible for either

societal inclusion in or societal exclusion from policy communities.

Based on a 1989 preliminary study conducted in Zimbabwe, I developed the following main hypothesis for empirical testing during field work in 1991: Education policy is a function of competition between government and societal interests over (1) divergent preferences, (2) resources, and (3) control of the actual policy process; however, the crucial variables in determining who controls the actual policy-making process are found in three hypotheses which are discussed later. The outcome of these competitive interactions tends to be partly determined by the extent to which the policy situation can be characterized as "crisis" or "non-crisis." Beyond this, the strength of the societal group(s) vis-a-vis the government is the crucial variable. If societal groups mobilize more powerful resources than the government, they will have a stronger influence in making policy. It may prove to be accurate, though, that government and societal groups collaborate instead of compete in developing education policy. A large and original database was created to test this hypothesis. This will be discussed later in the methodology sub-section of this chapter.

The overall objective of this dissertation, then, is to trace how education policies are shaped by relying on the perceptions held by key actors, both governmental and

societal, and on secondary policy data. The following cases will be used: teacher training, curriculum issues, school fees, and university policy. The policy communities approach allows one to conceptually isolate the various actors involved in policy-making on a certain issue in order to determine whether societal, state, and governmental actors were involved in making the policy.

My study hopes to correct some of the limitations and restrictions of the State-Society approach, which has been used to study public policy. In order to stress the weaknesses of the State-Society approach, it is instructive to examine below the work of two of its leading proponents.

The Limitations of the State-Society Approach

Comparative scholars, such as Skocpol and Nordlinger, have advocated a state-centered State-Society approach in order to explain how public policies are made; however, their approaches have limitations. According to Skocpol, state autonomy exists when states "formulate and pursue goals that are not simply reflective of the demands or interests of social groups, classes, or society. This is what is usually meant by state autonomy" (Skocpol, 1982, p. 4). Skocpol suggests that policies are either reflective of society or that policies are reflective of the government's view. However, in reality, the world is neither so black nor so white. She does not account for the possibility that

the interaction among policy actors is more complex and nuanced. Skocpol was correct in her interest in how authoritarian a government is in making policy. However, her notion of state autonomy, has major limitations. The problem is the state, as defined by Skocpol, is too broad to be useful. Further, Skocpol's definition of state autonomy is so wide that every policy appears to have been the result of an autonomous state decision--even if it was not. The result is that Skocpol's state concept misleads people into thinking that the state is almost always autonomous because, according to her definition, any policy that "is not simply reflective of the demands or interests of social groups, classes, or society" (Skocpol, 1982, p. 4) is an example of state autonomy.

One of the inspirations for my work is Eric Nordlinger's On the Autonomy of the Democratic State. Nordlinger wrote this book because he was frustrated with the virtual unanimity with which "societal constraint" models had been accepted by scholars studying democratic politics. Societal constraint models, he suggests, are ones in which "most or nearly all public policies are understood as responses to the politically weightiest societal expectations, demands, and pressures; the state is almost invariably unwilling or unable to act upon its preferences when these diverge from society's" (Nordlinger, 1981, p. 43). Nordlinger became disappointed with Society-Centered

models. He argued that in order to understand how public policy is being made a State-Centered approach is more useful.

Reading both Nordlinger and Skocpol's books I became concerned with the limitations of having to work with either the Society-Centered or State-Centered model, and the fact that there was so little data to support either model. Nordlinger's book in particular lacked empirical data. I also realized that Nordlinger did not thoroughly account for decision-making that involved both state and societal actors; instead, he like Skocpol dichotomized state and society centered approaches. Further, I became concerned with Third World literature which suggested that public policy was made almost exclusively from a State-Centered approach. For example, Clive Thomas, Director of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Guyana, even went so far as to suggest that internal democratic practices are absent in newly independent African states (Thomas, 1984). However, after independence in Zimbabwe, the government was populist and responsive to societal demands for a period of time as discussed in Chapter Two.

I began to question the assumption in the literature that public policies in the Third World are the result of authoritarian practices, and that democratic practices are absent. I knew from my experiences in Africa in 1989, 1990,

and 1991 that societal actors were not the helpless or uninterested victims of state authority that the literature suggested. Jeffrey Herbst in his book, State Politics in Zimbabwe, also recognized that societal actors could be influential in policy-making. Both he and I found the prevailing conceptualizations of state-society relations inadequate.

My work complements the work by Herbst, who examined the concept of state autonomy in Zimbabwe (Herbst, 1990) in relation to seven issues--two issues of land, agricultural producer prices, foreign investment, minerals marketing, health, and national minimum wage--though not education. Herbst and I agree that an important weakness in the state autonomy literature is that, "Most studies have not been able to go beyond the affirmation of the potential of autonomy to the far more important problem of predicting when and under what conditions state leaders will actually be free from outside pressure" (Herbst, 1990, p. 3). Herbst notes that, "Twenty-five years after most African countries received their independence, the extent to which government decisions are made according to the preferences of leaders and the extent to which the state has lost its autonomy to societal groups in the political conflict over resources is still unclear" (Herbst, 1990, p. 1).

Herbst's work offers the following two contributions. First, as he suggests, it has become clear that global

judgments as to whether the state is or is not autonomous are simplistic and misleading (Herbst, 1990, p. 251).

Instead, Herbst finds that a country such as Zimbabwe can have authoritarian decision-making on one issue and still have strong interest group influence in decision-making on another issue. Second, Herbst acknowledges that to understand policy-making in Zimbabwe one must pay attention to the three i's: strength of interest groups, strength of institutions, and the nature of the issue (Herbst, 1990, p. 256).

My study differs in important ways from Herbst's work. First, Herbst selects a broad range of issue areas, but he does not have either depth or breadth concerning any one issue. My study will closely examine one sector--education. In order to provide a more concrete examination than Herbst, I explore a number of sub-issues within education; sub-issues relating to secondary and tertiary education. Second, my work differs from Herbst in that I introduce the concepts of "crisis" and "non-crisis" settings as important variables affecting policy-making. Third, I look beyond Herbst's notion that the state or society is autonomous, and explore the possibility that the state, government, and societal actors are all involved in the decision-making process.

Finally, I agree with Africanist scholar, James Hentz, when he criticizes Herbst for not defining the state well.

Hentz suggests that Herbst's definition of the state leaves room for ambiguities, and that Herbst, in his book, represents the state as, "the civil servants, the bureaucracy, the central bureaucracy, the middle and upper levels of the bureaucracy, the technocratic class, the judicial system, the cabinet, and the national leadership" (Hentz, 1991, p. 713). If the state is one of the major analytic variables, it must be defined more precisely. Further, it needs to be distinguished from both the government and the society. In the conceptual section of this chapter, I will argue that the state is not unified in Zimbabwe; therefore, it should not be repeatedly used and ill-defined in the literature concerning state autonomy versus societal autonomy. Instead, I will argue that the government is analytically a much clearer and distinguishable concept to use when looking at government-societal relations.

Jack Hayward, a proponent of the policy community approach, has offered persuasive criticisms of the state-society approach as has Rene Lemarchand. I have found both of their critiques of this approach very instructive. It is important to examine, as they have, the weaknesses of the state-society approach in order to justify the construction of a new policy communities approach.

Lemarchand agrees with Timothy Mitchell that one should not treat the state as an actual structure separate from

society. Lemarchand suggests, "When one treats the state as an actual structure this creates an illusion of a more or less elaborate institutional scaffolding separate from the society upon which it rests" (Lemarchand, 1992, p. 180). Lemarchand and Mitchell agree that state-society boundaries should not be treated as a given but rather as problematic (Lemarchand, 1992, p. 180).

While I agree to some extent with Mitchell when he states that the boundary between the state and society appears "porous, and mobile" (Mitchell, 1991, p. 77), I do find that the effort to distinguish government (part of the state) from society is analytically useful and justified in order to determine whether policy is made by government agents or in order to determine whether "societal" agents play an important role in policy-making. Also, there is the possibility that government and society cooperate with other state actors, such as the bureaucracy in making policy. The reason I think Mitchell and others believe the boundary is not clear between state and society is because, until now, the definition of the state has been so ill-defined and ambiguous.

Both Lemarchand and Hayward suggest that the proponents of a dichotomy between state and society neglect the phenomena of clientelistic relationships. Hayward says, "it ignores the existence of a complex network of sectoral clientelistic relationships between relatively autonomous

'segments of the state,' particular sub-governments or public agencies, on the one hand, and the societal sectional interest groups whose activities they seek to regulate on the other" (Hayward, 1991, p. 382). Both acknowledge that what can be observed are clientelistic links between public and private actors in the policy process, whose informal relationships are important to the way in which formal arrangements work (Hayward, 1991, p. 382). Lemarchand and Hayward, however, differ on one major point. Lemarchand views the public/private relationship as "segmented, syncretistic, and fluid" (Lemarchand, 1992, p. 190); whereas, Hayward views the relationship between public and private as stable. This difference may be due to the fact that Lemarchand's studies have centered on African societies which have more loose and segmented relationships with the government than the more highly structured and stable (similar to corporatist) relationships which Hayward finds in France and Europe.

Hayward is a proponent of the policy community approach. Before discussing the new policy communities approach established in this dissertation and how it compares with that of Hayward, it is necessary to start piecing together the conceptual building blocks that are essential to fully understand what will ultimately become the new policy communities approach.

The Conceptual Building Blocks of the
New Policy Communities Approach

The following concepts and definitions provide the operational foundations of this research task: governmental actors, nongovernmental state actors, bureaucrats, and societal actors, influence, preferences, mobilization of resources, decision-making channels of communication, responsiveness, open and closed, and crisis and non-crisis situations. Policy communities will be discussed in the next sub-section of this chapter.

First, a concise distinction between governmental and non-governmental state actors is required. The major "governmental actors" in this dissertation will be the President of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mugabe, the Ministers of Education (political appointments by President) and other political appointees in the government. The government is made up of the political leadership that was either elected, appointed, or which came into power through forced means (such as a coup). The government is most often made up of a small group of party leadership and its major political appointees (such as cabinet members in Ministries). Therefore the President, Prime Minister and his/her chief political appointees to the bureaucracy are government actors. As is clear, I view the government to be only one part of the state.

Governmental actors and the non-governmental state actors combined make up the state. The following actors are non-governmental state actors: bureaucrats, Supreme Court officials, Parliamentarians, and local government officials. The bureaucracy (with the exception of political appointees such as the Minister), judiciary branch, Parliament, and local government officials are not part of the government but are non-governmental state actors.

The issue of exactly where the bureaucracy fits in this dissertation deserves more elaboration. In this case, according to Charles Jacob, bureaucrats, which are non-governmental executive-branch state actors, are vocationally oriented in that they have reached office by route of a particular course of training in a specialized field (Jacob, 1966, p. 35). Yet, ministers, usually thought of as a part of the government, have reached office due to their political connections to the ruling group of the country. Therefore, when bureaucrats are mentioned in this dissertation, I am referring to all Ministry of Education staff except the political appointees. Non-governmental state actors, such as bureaucrats, may have their own preferences, or they may agree with preferences of the government, or they may agree with preferences of society. We will see in Chapter Six on curriculum policy that most of the Ministry of Education is made up of bureaucrats who

disagreed with the government Minister's attempt to institute a political economy curriculum.

The idea of separating the concept of the state into two major categories, governmental and non-governmental state actors, is new and innovative, and it can be attributed to the work of Roger Dale. His work, which is derived from modern educational thought, successfully distinguishes the boundary between the government and the state. Dale's distinctions between government and state are an integral part of this work; therefore, it is worthwhile to expand on his distinctions. He considers the government to represent, "the short-term interests of the temporarily dominant coalition of forces within a social formation; these coalitions are represented in political parties" (Dale, 1989, p. 53). According to Dale's belief, the Zimbabwean government in this case is a dominant coalition of the following actors: President Mugabe, the ruling national party (ZANU) leadership, and the political appointments (such as Ministers). I concur with Dale's assumption that the government is a dominant coalition of forces or actors.

Dale believes that the state is made up of two parts--government, the most important part, and "state apparatuses." The Government, is one distinguishable part. The second, "state apparatuses" (Dale, 1989, p. 54) are, as Dale states, a set of publicly financed institutions; many

of which are accountable officially to the government. Other parts of the state, such as the judiciary and the legal system, however, are not accountable to the government in the same way (Dale, 1989, p. 54). Dale finds that there are often tensions between state institutions, for example, the Ministry of Education, and the Supreme Court, and we will discover this to be the case in Zimbabwe. Dale further notes that there is also tension between local education authorities and central government authorities (Dale, 1989, p. 53-55).

Although governments may fall due to elections or revolutions, Dale suggests that other state apparatuses, such as publicly financed institutions, are able to continue to operate perfectly well (Dale, 1989, p. 53). For instance, the Ministry of Education, a state institution, continued throughout the transition to Zimbabwean independence from the white-minority government in Zimbabwe, to the one-year transitional government, to the new black-majority controlled government in 1980, and the Ministry continues today.

Because the state is not unified and because there is often internal conflict (except in the pure totalitarian system), it is difficult to speak of a state as one unified body. Instead, most often, what is important is to examine societal interests versus the interests of the government (ruling governing coalition). Accordingly, this

dissertation is most concerned with examining the interaction between government actors and societal actors. But, we must be aware that state institutions can and are mobilized in order to aid either the government or the society. What exactly is meant by societal groups? We now turn to this issue.

"Societal groups" refer to headmasters, teachers, students, parents, religious groups, citizens, and other nonstate actors. Critics may argue that headmasters and teachers should be considered government or state actors. However, there are compelling theoretical reasons to consider these people as part of the "societal groups." First, headmasters and teachers in Zimbabwe organize their own pressure groups which represent their preferences before government. These preferences often diverge from those of the Ministry of Education. Second, headmasters and teachers are an integral part of their local communities. Thus, teachers and headmasters will be considered part of societal groups in this study.

Next, it is important to distinguish between two groupings of societal associations examined in this study--"contractual" and "communitarian." Associations based on local residence or ethnicity, and which serve as informal mechanisms in the sense that they are without a written constitution legalizing their existence, are considered communitarian. These are held together by the belief in

reciprocity. Associations which by contrast are formed through contractual agreements, such as a written organizational charter, are considered contractual. The National Association of Secondary Headmasters (NASH), for example, is a contractual association.

Since societal "influence" over education policy is the dependent variable in this study, it is crucial to understand what is meant by influence. According to Goran Hyden, citizen influence and oversight refer "to the means by which individual citizens can participate in the political process and thereby express their preferences about public policy and how well these preferences are aggregated for effective policy-making" (Hyden, 1992, p. 15). Influence means to affect or sway a decision. This study will ask what types of persons are the most influential (Dahl, 1961, p. 331) in determining the outcome of various educational decisions. We must, however, understand that not only do societal groups influence education policy but that the government often intervenes in the classroom; thus, resulting in the role of influencing teachers, headmasters, and students. Fuller finds that in the case of Malawi, which is similar to Zimbabwe, the state has a difficult time influencing the daily actions of headmasters and classroom teachers. But, the state can formulate, transmit, and sanction the knowledge presented in

the classroom through influence over curriculum, textbooks and the national examinations (Fuller, 1991, p. 84).

If the school-based actors, such as teachers, headmasters, and students are not satisfied with government intervention they can mobilize their resources and attempt to influence policy. Access to participation in the policy process is necessary, but not sufficient. Actors also need control over vital resources, plus the ability to act effectively on their preferences and opinions. For persons to act on their preferences, they must have open channels of communication with all other actors and among themselves.

In order for a person or group to influence policy, the actor must either be the policy decision-maker or have access to the policy-makers. It is important to determine if structures or procedures (channels of communication) exist in order to allow societal actors access to decision-makers. If they do exist, then societal actors can have influence in the policy process. Herbst is also aware of the importance of the concept of access. He found that a communal farmers' organization had no access to officials in regard to making a policy decision; and therefore, the state acted autonomously (Herbst, 1990, p. 77-79). Herbst, however, uses the concept "match-up" to mean access. He says, "by match-up I mean an interest group directly confronting the particular part of the state that is making

the allocation decision in such a way as to cause political conflict" (Herbst, 1990, p. 253).

There are at least four different degrees of societal influence which affect the government's role in decision-making. First, when governmental and societal preferences differ and the government prevents societal actors from access to/or control over the policy process then it is acting in an authoritarian manner. Second, in other situations, the government may allow societal groups access to the policy process but it could still, in actuality, remain more influential. Third, the government may allow societal groups access and some control over the policy process, in which case the government is losing some of its influence. Finally, societal groups may pressure the government with powerful resources and the government has no choice but to accept societal group pressure.

It is important to discuss "preferences" and "mobilization of resources" in order to understand the major components of this dissertation's model. "Preferences" refer to the interests, attitudes, and motivations of individuals or groups. Accordingly, the students' preferences include their need for textbooks, qualified teachers, papers, pens, and scientific equipment in order to improve their education. Naturally, when their preferences are unmet, they question why the government is not providing them with these needs. Likewise, government actors have

preferences, such as a high quality practical education, as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Robert Dahl defines a political "resource" as "anything that can be used to sway the specific choices or the strategies of another individual" (Dahl, 1961). Two notable political "resources" are the vote and persuasion. For instance, an important resource for parents wanting to influence education policy is the use of the voting threat. According to Nordlinger, "votes constitute a highly effective set of resources and sanctions" (Nordlinger, 1981, p. 222). According to Fuller, in his study of the relationship between the school and the state in southern Africa, the most common means or "resources" for the state to attempt influence over the schools include budgetary, administrative, and symbolic actions (Fuller, 1991, p. 7). Thus, the government must mobilize administrative resources in order to train teachers, produce textbooks, and create and enforce selection and allocation mechanisms, like national exams.

In this study the most important resources for the societal actors appear to be the vote; the ability to protest and organize; and their access to the media; whereas, the government's strongest resource is its control over money and coercive weapons. Moreover, the implied threat or actual use of force is a strong resource. Additionally, the government has a legal resource in its

favor--the legal provision that gives it the power to implement education policy. It is important to remember that there is inevitably a tension between "preferences" and "resources." Students at the University of Zimbabwe may have strong "preferences" for academic freedom but few "resources."

Finally, governmental responsiveness is a key concept linking societal influences to educational policy-making. Government responsiveness to societal needs is significant. According to Hyden, responsive and responsible leadership refers to "the attitudes of political leaders toward their role as public trustees" (Hyden, 1992, p. 15). President Mugabe, a former teacher, said that, "Our people want genuine democracy; . . . They want a leadership responsive and committed to their needs" ("People in, " 1991). Thus it follows that if a government is responsive to societal needs, it is therefore responding to societal influences in policy.

This dissertation will offer empirical evidence concerning how responsive the Government of Zimbabwe is on educational policy issues. Four levels of government responsiveness to societal influence are conceptualized below to examine the different degrees to which government can respond to societal influence during the policy process. First, the government can be unresponsive and not listen to the needs of societal groups. Second, the government can

solicit and listen to views from societal groups. Third, government can accommodate societal interests with its own pre-defined, pre-determined interest in a policy. Fourth, societal interests can supersede governmental interests. In the last case, societal groups naturally have maximum influence.

One factor that may affect policy-making styles is whether a decision is made under a crisis or non-crisis scenario, as Merilee Grindle and John Thomas have suggested. They say that in crisis situations there is strong pressure for reform, high stakes, high-level-decision-makers involvement, chance for innovative change, and pressure to act immediately (Grindle and Thomas, 1991, p. 161). The case of government control of the University of Zimbabwe, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, is an example of a policy decided under a crisis situation. In crisis situations, the government makes sure that the bureaucracy is fully behind its policy. However, societal groups can, and often do, mobilize state actors, such as Parliamentarians and members of the judiciary, to support societal claims. So, in crisis situations the Government and the Ministry of Education (or Ministry of Higher Education) officials are often pitted against a coalition of societal actors, judiciary actors, and Parliamentarians.

A "non-crisis" situation has the following characteristics: low political and economic stakes; middle

and lower level officials involved; incremental changes in existing policy or institution; and little sense of urgency (Grindle & Thomas, 1991, p. 107). In these situations bureaucrats and interest groups are mostly involved in policy-making. In the hypotheses section, toward the end of this chapter, the "crisis" and "non-crisis" variables are incorporated into the hypotheses. Now that the conceptual building blocks of the new policy communities approach have been presented it is important to discuss the development of the approach.

Policy Community Approaches

In 1974, Hugh Heclo and Aaron Wildavsky were the first political scientists to relate the notions of policy and community in their book titled The Private Government of Public Money: Community and Policy in British Political Administration. They said a "community is the cohesive and orienting bond underlying any particular issue" (Heclo & Wildavsky, 1974). In 1978, Heclo discussed the role of the administrative agency, interest groups, and Congress (Parliament) in forming an iron triangle (Heclo, 1978). Jeremy Richardson and A. Grant Jordan dropped the parliamentary side of the iron triangle in their discussion of a policy community in Britain. Richardson and Jordan suggested, as Hayward states, that policy outcomes owed most

to "the policy community of departments and groups" (Hayward, 1991, p. 392).

Zimbabwe, a former British colony, one would hypothesize, would follow a similar pattern to Britain in that the government departments and interest groups are the two most important actors in the policy community, not the Parliament. When one also considers the fact that the Parliament in Zimbabwe is controlled heavily by the President's ruling party and his executive branch political appointees, more evidence is offered to conclude that it is the Government, the Ministries, and interest groups that will play the most important roles in policy communities, not the Parliament. Still, on some issues such as school fees and university policy, Parliament may still count.

Hayward advocates the policy community approach. Hayward uses the notion of the policy community "to identify a network of clustered 'insiders' engaged in an interactive process to attain their policy aims. While they do not share common objectives in terms of means or ends, they are sufficiently committed to their established, closed policy processes; thus, they accept some sacrifice of their short-term particular interest" (Hayward, 1991, p. 395). He also suggests that within these policy communities there is general consensus among actors (although he does allow for some relapses into conflict or domination by one of the actors). He also seems to suggest that there is some

stability in these policy communities. Hayward, in his policy community approach, suggests that policies can be reflective of both society's interests and the state's interests. Hayward's policy community approach suggests that policies are mostly the result of interaction between state and societal actors. This idea of policy communities better represents the reality of policy-making than the state-society approach.

While Hayward should be praised for discussing a concept that allows for society and government cooperation on an issue, his approach has some limitations. Hayward says that the policy community approach has been tested in cases mostly related to economic and industrial policy. Yet, economic policy communities may have more cooperative and stable relationships between government and societal actors; a policy community on education, by contrast, may be characterized by conflict. This may be because education serves somewhat different purposes for the government and for societal actors. While the government hopes to achieve national development and unity through education often students and parents hope to achieve individual benefits from education. These differences may lead to inevitable conflicts between government and society.

The way Hayward defines the policy community approach limits its applicability to other countries. His portrayal of a policy community as being stable and having a

consensus, while applicable to policies in France and Austria perhaps, is too narrow a definition to apply to policies in all countries. Also, Hayward contends that the policy community approach may be less appropriate for Third World political systems, but he agrees this should at least be tested.

Herein lies a dilemma for comparativists. Many comparativists seek a theoretical framework which is universally applicable to countries in "developed" and "underdeveloped" settings; however, present theoretical formulations by Africanists and Europeanists may be narrow and limited in their applicability to certain other countries. I believe that a different conceptualization of the policy community approach can, and should, be used to assess whether the government, the society, and/or state actors create education policy in Zimbabwe. Before looking at the new conceptualization of the policy communities approach, let us first look at Giandomenico Majone's notion of a policy community.

One shortcoming in Hayward's approach is his suggestion that a policy community is stable and closed. Majone questions this and instead suggests that a policy community is open and competitive. This expands the usefulness of the policy community approach to different settings. He indicates that a policy community is composed of specialists who share an active interest in a certain policy or set of

related policies: academics, professionals, analysts, policy planners, media, and interest group experts. He suggests that the "policy community must be sufficiently open and competitive" so that novel ideas may emerge (Majone, 1989, p. 163). While Majone allowed for some members of a policy community to also be political actors, he viewed the two roles as separate and distinct (Majone, 1989, p. 161). He recommends that policy community members must have a disciplinary and organizational base through which access to the relevant political arena can be secured. In my conceptualization of the policy community, it represents the group of actors that actually make the policy decisions. Majone's policy community includes too many actors to be analytically useful. This is why I have limited my definition of a policy community to only those actors that are directly involved in making a policy decision. My version of policy community does not include all specialists with an active interest in policy.

The Policy Communities Approach

The policy communities approach involves a six step process to measure how well the government responds to societal influences during decision-making. First, it is important to identify the preferences and resources of the different actors. Second, it is important to consider societal efforts to mobilize their resources and the

government's response. One resource that may be mobilized by the government or by society is the assistance of the bureaucracy or other state actors.

The third step is to find out to what degree the decision-making policy community is open to outside influence. Fourth, it is important to find out the degree of consultation that occurs between government and society. The fifth step in the policy communities approach is to apply the case study and its degrees of consultation and openness to how government responds during decision-making. The sixth and final step in using the policy communities approach is the examination of the policy outcome of each of these four different types of policy communities.

The policy communities approach advances analysis beyond the simple model of political demand and government response. It looks at the interaction between key state, governmental, and societal actors during the decision-making process. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the ways in which policies are made in developing countries is much more varied than existing approaches suggest. In adopting the concept of policy community, I am interested in seeing how they are formed, what takes place within them, and what comes out of them. The assumption here is that policy communities, even within the same country, vary. As this study attempts to show, such variation exists even

within a single sector. The issue that needs to be discussed here concerns how one differentiates between them.

In order to develop the policy communities approach, I have incorporated concepts from the public administration field into the approach. In public administration an open system represents a system that is permeable, changing, and fluid in which members can enter and exit with ease. One indicator of openness is whether societal groups can enter the policy community, with ease, and influence a decision for a period of time, and then exit the policy community, with ease, when they feel their influence is no longer necessary. A closed system represents a system which is relatively stable, homogeneous, and non-permeable. Therefore, one indicator of a closed system would be that its membership is relatively constant and stable.

The two major indicators for the different policy community models that I have created are (1) the degree of consultation, and (2) the degree of openness. These two indicators are examined in the third and fourth step of the policy communities approach. The third step is to find out to what degree the decision-making policy community is open to outside influence. This can be done by assessing whether the policy community is highly exclusive, medium exclusive, little exclusive, or inclusive. Fourth, it is important to find out the degree of consultation that occurs between government and society. This can be done by assessing

whether the policy community involves high, medium, low, or no consultation between the government and society.

The degree of openness measures the extent to which societal actors participate in, or are shut out of, the policy community. For the purpose of this study I am differentiating between four types that vary in degree of openness: (1) highly exclusive, (2) medium exclusive, (3) little exclusive, and (4) inclusive.

The degree of consultation, the second indicator, measures the amount of discussion, communication, and deliberation that occurs before a decision is made. There are four different degrees of consultation which correspond to the four policy community types: a high level of consultation found in the open conflictual policy community; a medium level of consultation which is found in the closed cooperative policy community; a little consultation is found in the government directed policy community, and finally there is a level of no consultation (none) in the closed government policy community. In Chapters Four to Seven, each one of these indicators will be discussed in relation to their appropriate policy community. Figure 1-1 illustrates the relationship between the degrees of consultation and openness to the four policy community types.

(1) Degree of Consultation Below			
No Consultation	Little Consultation	Medium Consultation	High Consultation
Closed Government Policy Community	Government Directed Policy Community	Closed Cooperative Policy Community	Open Conflictual Policy Community
Highly Exclusive	Medium Exclusive	Little Exclusive	Inclusive
(2) Degree of Openness Above			

Figure 1-1. Indicators for Policy Community Models

The fifth step in the policy communities approach is to apply the case study and its degrees of consultation and openness to how government responds during decision-making which is found in Figure 1-2. The Closed Government Policy Community, which is highly exclusive and involves no consultation between government and society, corresponds to number one on the model below titled, "Government Prevents Societal Access." The Government Directed Policy Community, which involves only a little consultation and yet it maintains medium exclusivity, corresponds to number two on the model below titled, "Government Allows Societal Access." The Closed Cooperative Policy Community, which has a medium amount of consultation and is only a little exclusive of societal actors, corresponds to number three on the model below titled, "Governmental Accommodation of Societal Preferences." The Open Conflictual Policy Community, involves a high degree of consultation and is inclusive, and

it relates to number four on the model on the next page which is called, "Government Accepts Societal Preferences."

The model shown in Figure 1-2, connects the concepts discussed earlier and incorporates a model one can estimate from the gathered data. The sixth and final step in using the policy communities approach is the examination of the policy outcome of each of these four different types of policy communities. The outcome is evident in Figure 1-2 under the category titled "Policy." Below is an explanation of the model.

Explanation of the Model

In policy-making there are two broad categories of "preferences"--governmental and societal preferences. As Nordlinger suggests, when state and societal preferences are the same, then the state's preferences become policies (Nordlinger, 1981, p.28). While this study measures government (not state preferences), the same logic applies. When government and societal preferences are the same, then government preferences become policies. On the contrary, if societal preferences and governmental preferences coincide there is no problem; thus, there is no need to mobilize "resources."

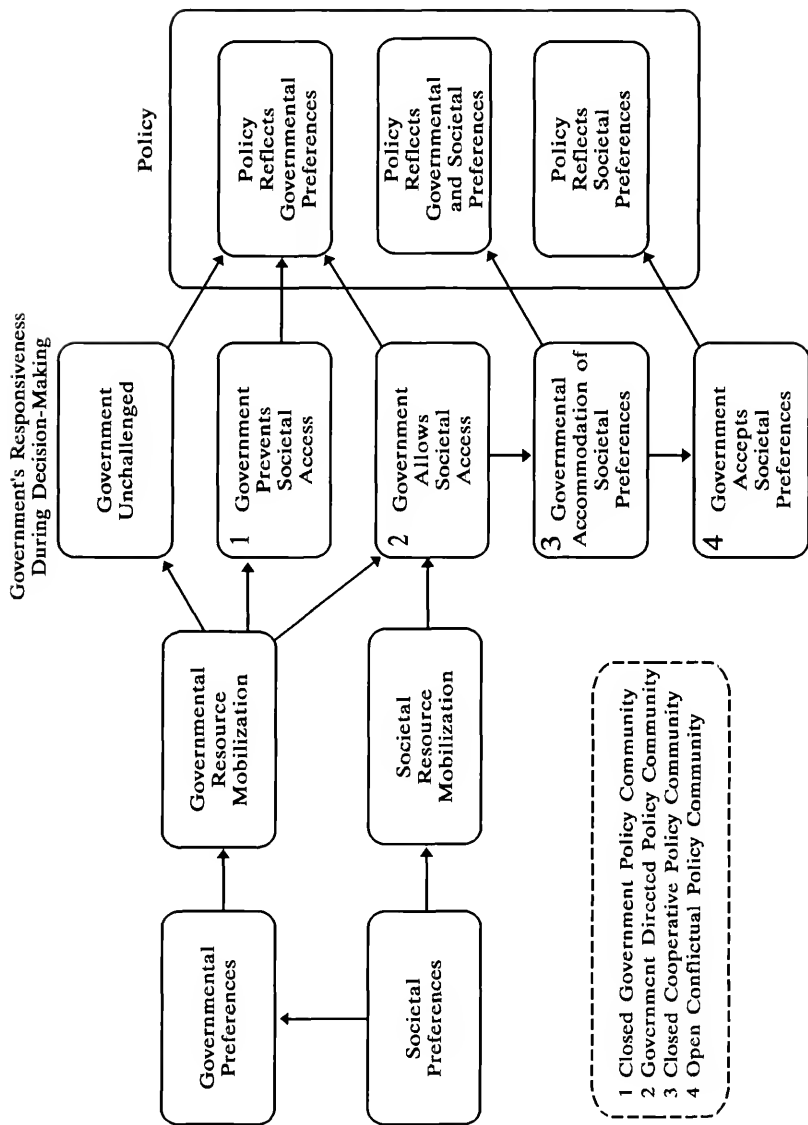


Figure 1-2. Model of Governmental Responsiveness to Societal Influences

If government mobilizes resources and it is unchallenged by societal actors in the policy process, then governmental preferences are reflected in the policy. But, when societal preferences diverge from governmental preferences then societal groups mobilize their resources as do governmental actors. If government is responsive to listening to societal concerns then during the policy process the government allows societal groups access to decision-makers. However, the government may prevent societal actors from access to decision-makers during the policy process. In both cases, governmental preferences reflect policy. Yet, if the government decides that it must accommodate societal preferences in the policy process then a societal group can wield some influence. As a result, governmental and societal preferences are always reflected in policy. If societal influence is great in the policy process, government may accept societal preferences over governmental preferences in a policy.

Systems theory in political science has been attacked for focusing on the inputs and outputs of the political system and for neglecting what occurs in the middle--in the black box. The model used here allows us to say something meaningful about what is happening in this "black box." What occurs in the policy communities affects the policy outcome.

Policy Communities and Their Relationships to Model and Theories

Now that the indicators for the policy communities are clear and the model has been explained it is important to discuss each policy community. I label Hayward's concept of policy community the Closed-Cooperative Policy Community approach (which on Figure 1-2 would represent the category numbered three which is labeled "Governmental Accommodation of Societal Preferences"). This category represents a little exclusivity in terms of the degree of openness. The reason that this category is a little exclusive is because, although, the decision-making community has at least some societal actors involved, as Hayward calls them, a "network of clustered 'insiders' engaged in an interactive process to attain their policy aims," other societal actors, most notably the outsiders, are excluded. A medium degree of consultation is found in the Closed Cooperative Policy Community. The result is a policy in which governmental and societal preferences are both reflected in a policy. The example I offer of this approach is Chapter Six of my dissertation on the development of curriculum in Zimbabwe.

The Closed-Cooperative Policy Community resembles what Philippe Schmitter calls societal corporatism. Societal corporatism is, "a pattern of institutional relationships in which the officially sanctioned sectoral interest organizations, while collaborating with each other and state

policy-making elites in the pursuit of a commonly accepted national interest, speak quite autonomously for their socioeconomic sectors and actively engage the state in the defense of their constituents" (Keller, 1991, p. 148). Corporatism, according to Schmitter, is "a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories of leaders and articulation of demands and supports" (Keller, 1991, p. 148).

In Chapter Six on curriculum policy, I find that while teachers and business representatives work with government and the state in making curriculum policy as is the case in corporatism, they also speak quite autonomously on behalf of their constituents.

The Closed-Cooperative Policy Community model and the Government Directed Policy Community are both corporatist forms of policy-making. The Government-Directed Policy Community is the next policy community I wish to discuss. It most closely resembles what Schmitter has called state corporatism--that which is, "an institutional arrangement in which the state seeks to co-opt or control major sectoral interest organizations, usually by establishing rules that

govern their very creation as well as their behavior" (Keller, 1991, p. 148). This policy community on Figure 1-2 is the category numbered two which is entitled "Government Allows Societal Access." This category represents a medium degree of exclusivity because most societal actors are excluded from the policy community; however, a few government selected societal representatives are, as we shall see, involved in decision-making. There is only a little consultation in the Government Directed Policy Community.

An example of the Government Directed Policy Community is teacher training policy which is discussed in Chapter Seven. In this case, the government allows some dialogue and access to society, but in terms of the final decision-making structure, society is virtually excluded and governmental preferences result in the reflection of policy. One indicator of the Government Directed Policy Community is that the Minister of Education controls and directs the participants in the final decision-making policy community. As we will see in Chapter Seven, teacher education is contained and controlled by a tripartite organization controlled by the Ministry of Education, University of Zimbabwe, and the Teachers' Colleges. The government co-opts the organizations involved in teacher training.

I would also allow for two other types of policy communities, which Hayward does not consider. The third

form of policy-making I discuss is the Closed Government Policy Community which is represented in Figure 1-2, by number one entitled "Government Prevents Societal Access." In this case the government prevents societal access and as a result governmental preferences reflect policy. This policy community is highly exclusive in that societal actors are excluded from input into the policy community. There is no substantial consultation between government and society in the Closed Government Policy Community. An example of this is the crisis over academic freedom at the University of Zimbabwe which makes up Chapter Four of my dissertation. This approach is characteristic of a policy decision-making group made up of select governmental actors which excludes societal actors from a role in decision-making. Accordingly, the main indicator of this Closed Government Policy Community is that societal actors are excluded from participation in the policy community.

The fourth and last policy-making community which I have created is called the Open-Conflictual Policy Community. It is represented, in Figure 1-2 by number four called, "Government Accepts Societal Preferences." An example of this type of decision-making is the case of school fees, which will be examined in Chapter Five. This resulting policy reflects societal preferences. This policy community is not at all exclusive, instead it represents a high degree of inclusivity in that societal actors are fully

included in the policy community. There is a high level of consultation found in this Open Conflictual Policy Community.

This final Community is found in pluralistic situations in which the decision-making system is open, and competition is strong between societal and governmental groups. Fuller suggests that the state faces demands from groups and institutions that question Western political-economic ideals, such as the village chiefs, the urban middle class that demand opportunity for their families first (and for rural groups later) and for the post-colonial economic firms that would not benefit from opening up liberal markets (Fuller, 1991, p. xvii). Parents in the Open-Conflictual Policy Community have demanded that the government allow local control of school fees.

I believe that neither the society centered, state centered, or corporatist approaches should be adopted until data can be collected to provide evidence for a suitable approach that will represent reality. The policy communities approach that I have adopted may remedy this problem because it allows the approaches to be tested as data is collected.

The strongest benefit of the policy communities approach is that it does not take any of the approaches as given, but it recognizes the interdependence between public and private actors in formulating policy. According to

Hayward, the "dualistic view of the state versus society distorts realities in that it ignores the existence of a complex network" of government and societal forces collaborating in policy decisions (Hayward, 1991, p. 382).

The policy communities approach allows an analyst to consider that key policy actors mobilize allies both within and outside the processes of public decision-making (Hayward, 1991, p. 390). The following sub-section of this chapter will reveal how the new policy communities approach relates to the other approaches discussed.

Comparison of the New Policy Communities Approach with Prior Perspectives

The four policy community types introduced are the result of an adaptation and refinement of the state-society and policy community literature. I have examined the policy literature and integrated useful concepts into a framework that better represents the process of policy-making than the previous state-society literature provides. Figure 1-3 is introduced to demonstrate the difference between the approaches discussed above. Perspective number one on the next page is the theoretical basis that was considered at the beginning of this dissertation research in which Skocpol and Nordlinger implied that either the state or society was responsible for making policy decisions. As scholars grew dissatisfied with this crude dichotomy, new perspectives were developed. Herbst in perspective two suggested that to

understand how policy decisions are reached one must consider whether the issue extends state's capabilities and the strength of state institutions compared to the strength of interest groups. Hayward, in perspective number three, argues that policy decisions are made by a policy community of state and societal actors that interact with each other.

Perspective number four, the new policy communities approach, goes beyond all these. It suggests that the interaction between government, state, and societal actors depends on (1) whether or not the decision was made during a crisis or non-crisis situation, (2) the extent to which the government permitted and encouraged openness and consultation in the decision-making process, and (3) the nature of the issue. The idea that interest groups, institutions, and issues matter as suggested by Herbst has been integrated into the policy communities approach. The notion that state and societal actors interact in the decision-making process, as suggested by Hayward, has also been considered. For these reasons, it can be argued that the policy communities approach allows for more probing comparisons than the other approaches. Figure 1-3 offers a comparison of approaches studying policy-making.

To provide the reader with a sense of how the data chapters relate to the model in Figure 1-2, I have indicated in Figure 1-4 how each of the four case studies illustrates one of the particular policy community types. Numbers one

through four represent the four different policy communities in which education decisions are made in Zimbabwe.

Governmental Responsiveness to Societal Influence in Educational Policy-Making

Six factors affect the emergence of policy communities that are responsive to societal influence: the strength of societal groups in contrast to governmental actors, the nature of the issue to be decided, the ability of societal and governmental actors to mobilize other state actors (such as the bureaucracy or the courts) on their behalf, the existence of a crisis or non-crisis situation, openness of policy communities, and the existence of policy communities which have a high degree of consultation.

In situations where societal actors are very influential in making policy, the following situations will exist: societal groups mobilize more powerful resources than the government, the issue to be decided is not being viewed by the government as a threat to its legitimacy, societal actors in a crisis situation mobilize non-bureaucratic state actors on their behalf or in a non-crisis situation societal actors mobilize bureaucratic state actors on their behalf. Next, it is important to examine the main hypotheses of this study.

1	2	3	4
Skocpol & Nordlinger	Herbst	Hayward	Spear
State	State		
	Issue		<u>During Crisis</u> A) Closed Government Policy Community Government Important
			<u>Non-Crisis</u> B) Government Directed Policy Community Bureaucracy and Government Important
	Institution (Bureaucracy)	Policy Community of State/Society Actors	<u>Non-Crisis</u> C) Closed Cooperative Policy Community Bureaucracy and Interest Groups are Most Important
	Interest Groups		<u>Crisis</u> D) Open Conflictual Policy Community Society, Government, and State Important
Society	Society		

Figure 1-3. Comparison of Approaches Studying Policy-Making

		Crisis	
State Centered	<p>Closed Government Policy Community</p> <p><u>Result</u>—Policy that reflects governmental preferences</p> <p>Authoritarian</p> <p>1 Example—Chapter 4 University of Zimbabwe</p>	<p>Open Conflictual Policy Community</p> <p><u>Result</u>—Policy that reflects societal preferences</p> <p>Pluralistic</p> <p>4 Example—Chapter 5 School Fees</p>	
	<p>Government Directed Policy Community</p> <p><u>Result</u>—Policy that reflects governmental preferences</p> <p>State Corporatist</p> <p>2 Example—Chapter 7 Teacher Training</p>	<p>Closed Cooperative Policy Community</p> <p><u>Result</u>—Policy that reflects governmental and societal preferences</p> <p>Societal Corporatist</p> <p>3 Example—Chapter 6 Curriculum</p>	Society Centered
		Non-Crisis	

Figure 1-4. Policy Communities in Relation to Concepts of Crisis/Non-Crisis and State/Society Approaches

Three Hypotheses

In order to predict if, when, and under what conditions government leaders will be responsive to societal influence, I have developed three hypotheses. Education policy is a function of competition between government and societal interests over (1) divergent preferences, (2) resources, and (3) control of the actual policy-making process; however, the crucial variables in determining who controls the actual policy-making process are found in the following three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Policy issues that require extended capabilities beyond the government's capabilities and in which the nature of the political good provides a decisive advantage to societal groups results in societal control of the policy process. Policy issues that do not require extended capabilities beyond the government and in which the nature of the political good provides a decisive advantage to government results in governmental control of the policy process. If policy issues require the capability of government and society and the nature of the political good does not provide either with a decisive advantage then policy-making is controlled by both, such as in the case of curriculum policy in Chapter 6.

The basic elements of this hypothesis are the (1) ability of issue to extend beyond government's capabilities, and (2) determination of whether the political good gives

advantage to society or the government or both, were discussed as middle-level hypotheses by Herbst (Herbst, 1990, p. 255). Herbst is correct to be concerned about the issue and whether the political good provides a decisive advantage to the interest groups or government (Herbst, 1990, p. 255).

While I agree with Herbst on the general ideas in his hypotheses, there are a couple important distinctions between his hypotheses and my hypothesis. First, I believe the political good and the nature of the issue are interrelated and therefore should be combined into one hypothesis, which I did. For example, the issue of teacher training and the political good of training of teachers are interrelated. Second, Herbst focuses on the state I instead discuss the role of the government.

The outcome of the competitive interactions between government and society are partly determined by the issue and political good but also by the extent to which the policy situation can be characterized as "crisis" or "non-crisis." Grindle and Thomas (1991) predict that state leaders act differently under conditions of crisis and non-crisis decision-making. This notion that leaders act differently under conditions of crisis is a very interesting proposition that deserves further testing and discussion, so, I incorporate it into my study.

The next hypothesis is derived from ideas that come from Grindle and Thomas (1991). They state that in "non-crisis" situations, "micropolitical concerns include concerns about the more parochial demands of specific interest groups, the use of policy resources to maintain clientelistic relationships, the parceling out of policy resources to ensure political control and to narrowly defined groups in exchange for political support and more short term interests of political elites" (Grindle and Thomas, 1991, p. 105-106). One problem with Grindle and Thomas' proposition is that they do not distinguish between the state and the government. They do not account for hypotheses that allow for non-autonomous policies; rather, they suggest that the state usually acts autonomously. I, however, believe that there should be a hypothesis that allows for societal dominance in policy decisions; therefore, I created hypothesis two.

Hypothesis 2: If in a "non-crisis" situation the societal groups' capability is greater than the government's capability then society controls the policy process. If the government's capability is greater than societal groups' capability then government controls the policy process. If societal groups' capability is not greater than the government's and the government's capability is not greater than societal groups' then neither alone control the policy process.

Herbst's definition of strong societal group pressure is used here to refer to situations where interest groups' (or societal groups') capability is greater than the state's institutional capability. This hypothesis was validated in Herbst's work (1990). Herbst discusses whether the interest group matches up with state institutions. Herbst describes what he means by 'match-up,'

I mean an interest group directly confronting the particular part of the state that is making the allocation decision in such a way as to cause political conflict. If the organizational structure of the interest group cannot match up against the institutional structure of the state, the state will be autonomous (Herbst, 1990, p. 253).

There are other differences between Herbst and me. While Herbst focuses on whether there is a political conflict I focus on divergent preferences. While Herbst focuses on the strength of the organizational structure of the interest group, I focus on the capabilities of different actors to mobilize resources. Finally, I focus on the government's capability and Herbst focuses on the state's capability. I discuss the strength of societal groups vis-a-vis the government, by examining capabilities.

Hypothesis 3: In "crisis-ridden" situations, decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control. Grindle and Thomas argue that in such situations the state is the most influential actor. In cases where the government believes the government's legitimacy and very survival is in

question, they mobilize all possible resources in order to stay in power and this results in the exclusion of opposition societal actors from the policy process. The societal groups are weak relative to the government. However, in cases where government legitimacy and survival are not in question, however the government believes high stakes are involved in terms of political control and stability, the government will mobilize resources but it will not exclude societal actors from the policy-making process.

Technical analysis, bureaucratic interactions, and international pressures often assume importance in crisis decisions, but usually remain subordinate to concerns about the stability or survival of the regime in power or to the longevity of its incumbent leadership. The distinction between "non-crisis" and "crisis" conditions seems to be the first criteria for Grindle and Thomas to determine how influential the state is.

Grindle and Thomas explain that in "crisis" situations there is strong pressure for reform, high stakes, high-level-decision-makers involvement, chance for innovative change, and pressure to act immediately (Grindle and Thomas, 1991, p. 161). All these characteristics appear to have been present in the case of the University of Zimbabwe in which the government decided university policy.

A point of clarification must be made about societal interests in Zimbabwe. There is not a single societal interest in Zimbabwe as will be evident in the split between societal actors that support practical education and others that support academic education as discussed in Chapter 6. However, in that case societal actors that support academic education are more powerful. Therefore, when I discuss societal interests I am referring to the views of the predominant or most powerful societal interests. Next, it is important to examine the linkage between public opinion and policy.

The Linkage Between Societal Preferences (Public Opinion) and Policy

According to V. O. Key, public opinion is important only if the preferences, aspirations, and prejudices of the public can be connected with the actual workings of the governmental system (Key, 1961, p. 535). One major criticism of public-opinion literature, such as in Page and Shapiro (1983, p. 175), is that public opinion is unable to link opinion and preferences with policy outcome. This dissertation will attempt to make this linkage. Various interviews and secondary source materials which discuss the actual role of different people in education policy will help form a clearer picture of the actual workings of government. Also, to understand societal influence over education policy, it was necessary to gather information on

influences of other key actors in the educational community, including church and parent groups, groups of teachers, headmasters, and others.

Key is correct in affirming the need for connecting preferences with (what is) the workings of the governmental system (Key, 1961, p. 535). Preferences are assessed by asking people what they think should happen. By doing this, we can connect opinion to policy processes and outcomes. Surveys, interviews, and secondary source material shed light on what happens in the policy process, and what should happen in order to determine if societal preferences are reflected in policy. The questions of what should happen and what actually does happen are both critical elements of my dissertation. In order to detect whether societal preferences and/or governmental preferences (the should question) are reflected in policy, we must know both what actors prefer and what actually happens. Therefore, if students and teachers' preferences match what actually happens, then societal preferences are reflected in policy. However, if societal preferences are not part of policy outcome, then the government has been very influential, and it has not incorporated societal preferences into policy.

Methodology

I began preliminary research on education policy in Zimbabwe during 1989 as a student at the University of

Zimbabwe. Then during a four month stay in Zimbabwe, serving part of it as a Ford Foundation intern (May-August, 1991), the following data were collected: approximately 1,000 surveys of students, teachers, and headmasters; interviews with key education actors such as the Minister of Education; videotape interviews with teachers, headmasters, and students at schools; my own diary entries from each visit to schools; a tape of the National Association of Secondary Headmasters Meeting with the Minister of Education; and extensive secondary source materials concerning education.

A variety of data sources was used to provide important information. The surveys revealed societal perceptions of their needs, preferences, resources, as well as their perceptions of the government and the decision-making process. The interviews offered detailed explanations of preferences, resources, the education decision-making process and the involvement of different actors in it. Videotape interviews with teachers, headmasters, and students at schools and my dairy entries provided me with information on my perceptions of the schools and people I met and they included some quotes I gathered from students, teachers, headmasters, government officials, and state actors.

A tape of the National Association of Secondary Headmasters Meeting was made so that I could record the

proceedings and later I could document the important parts of the meeting. Finally, the main secondary source materials I used were newspapers, magazines, books, journal articles, and Parliamentary debate reports. Parliamentary debates provided extensive information on Parliamentarians views of education policy which was discussed in Chapter 4. The other secondary source materials had views of societal, state, and governmental actors in them.

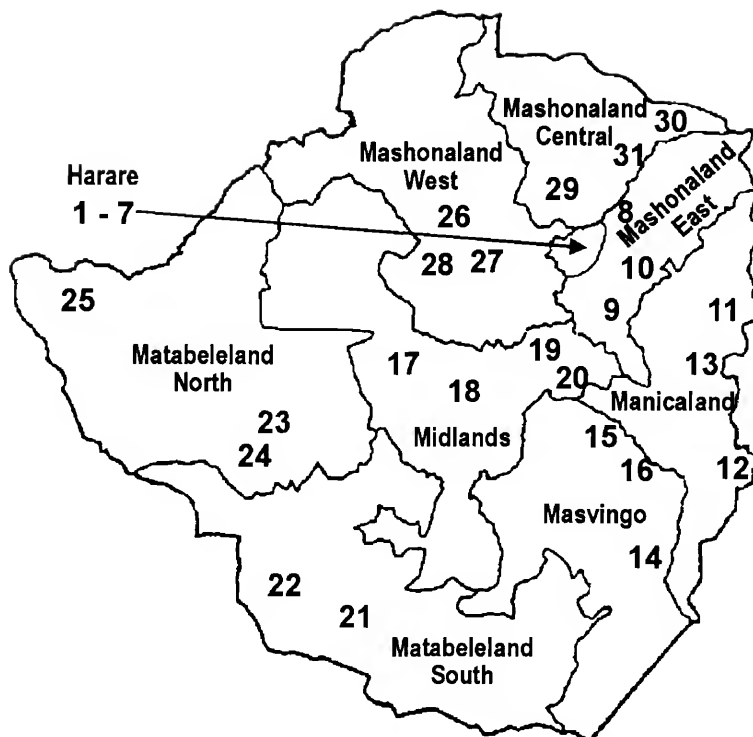
In order to obtain the attitudes of key societal groups; teachers, headmasters, and students were surveyed. Headmasters at the National Association of Secondary Headmasters meeting in June 1991, and teachers in Zimbabwe advised me on various representative schools to include in the survey. As such, a representative sample of 31 secondary schools in Zimbabwe was selected to administer the surveys. Figure 1-5 shows the location of these schools throughout Zimbabwe.

It was determined that at least 30 schools were needed because 30 is a large enough sample to use statistical techniques. To insure representativeness of the sample, additional steps were taken to select schools. At least three schools in each of Zimbabwe's nine geographical/administrative provinces were selected, one a poorer quality school, one a medium quality school, and one a high quality school. The quality of a school was determined by the "O level" (high school equivalent of SAT) pass rate of the school's students. It was important to

have a representative sample in terms of school quality because to represent the needs and preferences of all students, teachers, and headmasters in Zimbabwe, I needed to sample schools of differing quality. The needs of students at a poorly equipped rural school are likely to differ from students at a fully equipped urban school.

To make the sample as representative as possible, about one half of the schools were chosen from rural areas and the other half were chosen from urban areas because my sample follows the national demographic breakdown of school distribution. Of course, one important goal was to insure that the different types of secondary schools in Zimbabwe were represented. Therefore, the following types of schools were selected: mine schools, commercial farm/company schools, mission schools, rural local government administered schools, former white only (Group A) government schools, former black only (Group B) government schools, overcrowded urban schools, and other private (non-mission) schools.

Three different surveys composed by the author were used. The first survey was the student survey which was given to about 25-30 Form 4 (equivalent of 11th grade in USA) students from each school. There were 862 completed student surveys from 31 schools.



Harare
Region

- 1 Arundel
- 2 St. Georges
- 3 Prince Edward
- 4 Girls High School
- 5 Ellis Robins
- 6 Zengeza #1
- 7 Mbare #1

Mashonaland East
Region

- 8 Goromonzi
- 9 Rakodzi
- 10 Eagle Tanning

Manicaland
Region

- 11 St. Augustines Mission
- 12 Rusitu Mission
- 13 Nharira

Masvingo
Region

- 14 Pamushana Mission
- 15 Chatikobo
- 16 Rafomoyo

Midlands
Region

- 17 Fletcher
- 18 Mkoba #1
- 19 Zinatsa
- 20 Liebenberg

Matabeleland South
Region

- 21 Manama Mission
- 22 Mkhalipe

Matabeleland North
Region

- 23 Christian Brothers College
- 24 Mzilikazi
- 25 Wankie

Mashonaland West
Region

- 26 Rimuka #3
- 27 Chemukute
- 28 Munyaradzi

Mashonaland Central
Region

- 29 Mazowe
- 30 Gwangwava
- 31 Rusambo

Figure 1-5. Schools Included in Survey

The second survey, the teacher survey, was submitted to each headmaster who chose about four representative teachers in each school to complete the survey--117 teacher surveys were completed. Finally, the headmasters of all 31 schools were given different surveys to fill out themselves but only 23 completed the survey. The response rate was over 90 percent because I administered and collected the majority of surveys in person. Over 1,000 surveys have been entered into the computer. Then, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data.

In addition to written surveys, extensive one-on-one interviews were conducted. The surveys and interviews revealed the amount and type of societal access to Central Government officials through the actors' discussion of resources they mobilized and channels of communication they used. One of the most important interviews was with Minister of Education, Fay Chung (personal communication, August 14, 1991). National and local government education administrators, teacher training college heads, a parent, and university officials were also interviewed. The issue of societal influence regarding university policy is very timely because societal groups are challenging political control of the university. Therefore, I consulted university officials to find out their views of university policy.

The variables in the model and hypothesis will be measured by secondary source materials, interview information, diary sources, and survey questions. Governmental and societal interests in the model and hypothesis will be measured from survey and interview questions that asked students, teachers, headmasters, and government officials what were their greatest needs and suggestions. Interviews were used to measure societal and governmental mobilization of "resources." Societal access to central government officials is measured by what channels of communication exist for societal actors to influence government. The surveys asked the headmasters about how much communication they have with central and local government and further whether government listens to the headmasters.

The Significance of This Study

By way of summary, it may be helpful to remind the reader of the significance of this study. As I see it, this research is important for six reasons. First, education is an extremely important development issue; yet, it has received little attention in recent years by academics interested in public policy. Interest has focused on other worthy issues such as environmental regulation. Education signals opportunity to many but educational resources are limited. Because of scarce resources in Africa, there is

often a trade-off between increasing the quantity of education and improving its quality. Furthermore, the major public policy studies on education have been conducted in the United States, for example, by John Chubb of the Brookings Institution and Terry Moe, a political scientist at Stanford (1988).

Second, academics interested in the relationship between education and politics in developing countries have not paid adequate attention to societal interests in education policy and government responsiveness to societal preferences. Instead, research on education and politics in the developing world has come from two predominant paradigms: structural-functionalism and political economy. Structural functionalists like James Coleman have focused on education as a means of socializing and modernizing a country (Coleman, 1965). The problem with the political economy approach is that it assumes that the state is the principal actor in education policy without testing to see if this is the actual case. Unfortunately, the literature we do have on education policy in developing countries depicts societal groups as helpless, uninterested and powerless victims of politics, economics and historical structures. My research disagrees with this description.

This dissertation will test how interested and active societal groups are in the policy-making process in education. By testing this proposition, using a unique set

of data, I hope to make a contribution to our understanding of public policy-making in developing countries. The policy communities approach employed in this paper allows us to examine the interaction between state, government, and societal actors in educational policy-making in Zimbabwe. Moreover, this approach attempts to transcend some of the limits of the state-society relations literature. This approach can be used in other countries and in the study of different issues in order to clarify the policy decision-making process.

The third reason why this study is important is that it relates to the emerging literature on democratization in Africa by providing hard data regarding the extent to which governments act in response to societal influences. Governance literature has sought to identify the potential significance of societal actors, as opposed to government actors. This study will assess the extent to which societal preferences are included in education policy communities in Zimbabwe. Further, I will identify what factors lead to positive and negative interactions between government and society in education policy communities.

The fourth reason this dissertation is important is because it attempts to make a linkage between public opinion (preferences) and policy. Page and Shapiro suggest, "The responsiveness of government policies to citizens' preferences is a central concern of various normative and

empirical theories of democracy" (Page and Shapiro, 1983, p. 175). By undertaking this research, one can find out what the actors' preferences are, what occurs in the decision-making process, and what actors are most influential in policy results? The policy (government output) can be determined from documents, interviews, surveys and other available secondary source materials.

The fifth reason that this study is important is because political scientists interested in Africa rarely employ the survey method to collect data. The reason for not collecting more survey data is that often researchers are being denied research clearance to carry out the research. This study will demonstrate that the survey method, which is widely used in American political studies, can be satisfactorily and usefully applied in Africa. Betty Jo Dorsey's pre-independence survey of secondary schools in Zimbabwe (Dorsey, 1975) and Philip Foster's study of schools in Ghana (Foster, 1965) inspired the author.

Sixth, empirical testing of propositions is crucial in comparative politics, "The central task in comparative analysis is to identify concepts and variables of broad relevance to the operation of social systems and then establish procedures for "equivalent" measurement of these variables within different systems in order to test propositions about the relationships among variables" (Graesser in Holm, 1978, p. 130). This study hopes to serve

as an example of how government-state-societal interactions can be measured. Hopefully future research will utilize this model and the policy communities approach.

Organization of the Dissertation

It is necessary to preview what will be found in the rest of the dissertation. In the following chapter, the interaction of actors in making Zimbabwean education policy will be examined during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Decision-making structures and education policies created during the colonial period influenced structures and policies made after independence.

Chapter Three will examine general findings from surveys and interviews about how responsive the Zimbabwean government is to society in policy communities. Chapters Four to Seven will apply the four policy communities to educational case studies in Zimbabwe. Chapter Four will apply the Closed Government Policy Community to the case of University of Zimbabwe policy. Chapter Five will apply the Open Conflictual Policy Community to the case of school fees. Chapter Six will apply the Closed Cooperative Policy Community to the case of curriculum policy. Chapter Seven will apply the Government Directed Policy Community to the case of teacher training policy.

In Chapter Eight, the final chapter, the overall utility of the policy communities approach to the study of

public policy will be evaluated in light of the research findings. Chapter Eight will answer the question posed at the beginning of this dissertation--what factors lead to democratic public policy-making? Also, does the government respond to societal influences in making policy?

CHAPTER 2
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN EDUCATION POLICY IN ZIMBABWE

The Important Role That Ethnicity and the Family
Has Played in the History of Education Policy

Before continuing to explore the colonial and post-colonial periods, it is useful to understand the ethnic composition of Zimbabwe and the role ethnicity has played in history. Historically, Zimbabwe never had more than a small percent of its population derived from European ethnic groups. Seventy-five percent of Zimbabwean society is made up of Shona people; while, nineteen percent of the population is from the Ndebele ethnic group. Four percent are members of either the Tonga, Venda, Shangaan or smaller Black ethnic groups, and two percent are either of European, Asian or Colored descent (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989, p. xiii).

My sample of students from the survey reflects the percentage of Shona in the population. I have 75.5% Shona students in my sample. My sample under-represents the Ndebele ethnic group in that eight percent of my student sample are Ndebeles; yet they make up about 19% of the population. One of the schools in an Ndebele area which I was hoping to include in my sample was impossible to

incorporate. To make up for the under-representation of the Ndebele group, I over-represented some of the other small black ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. For example, although four percent of the population is made up of Tonga, Venda, Shangaan or other small black ethnic groups my sample includes nine percent from these various small Black ethnic groups.

Although only two percent of the Zimbabwean population are of either European, Asian, or Colored descent my sample includes almost seven percent from these groups. Part of the difference between overall population of the country and my form four school sample can be explained by the fact that there is a higher percentage of European, Asian, and Colored students in form four than in the population as a whole. This is because these groups have more money and can afford to attend form four at a higher rate than other ethnic groups.

Ethnic struggles over values and power have been a prominent aspect of the struggle between the government and society for centuries. Documented ethnic struggles over education policy date back to the period of the Munhumutapa Kingdom in the 1500's. During this time, the Portuguese, Arab traders, and Shona ethnic groups were in conflict over who had the power to make policy.

Ethnicity continued to be an important issue throughout Zimbabwe's history. For example, during the British

colonial times, the British wanted to replace ascriptive and particularistic traditional norms with universal, achievement-oriented-norms of the British (Fuller, 1991, p. 9-10). The newly independent government in Zimbabwe, like other Third World governments, claims that it needs a uniform national curriculum to incorporate disparate ethnic and language groups into the modern polity and economy (Fuller, 1991, p. 20). According to Bruce Fuller, the action of the new Zimbabwe government is typical of a newly independent Third World government, "Following national independence, and anxious to lessen constraints of race, class, and caste, centralized Third World states promptly took over colonial school systems and pushed standardization of curricula, teacher preparation, and school management" (Fuller, 1991, p. 9).

The Zimbabwean government desires unity and standardization in education as well as unity in the political arena. In 1987, the two major political parties in Zimbabwe merged into one which the President hoped would lead to unity. ZANU (which represented people predominantly of the Shona ethnic group) and ZAPU (which represented the Ndebele ethnic group during the liberation war) merged into a new ZANU, that Mugabe hoped would represent all ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

Ethnic groups have played important roles in education policy-making. Zimbabwe's Minister of Education, Fay Chung,

confirmed in an interview with the author that ethnicity did in fact affect education policy (personal communication, August 14, 1991). Before 1987, the District Councils (local governmental bodies), not the National Ministry of Education, were given the power to hire teachers. Yet, ethnic considerations biased the selection, said Minister Chung,

There was a bias in hiring, because someone's relative or someone of the same ethnic group may be hired over others who are more qualified. The teachers pressured our Ministry to do something about these bias. So, in 1987, we gave into pressure from teachers and took the power away from the District Councils and centralized hiring teachers (F. Chung, personal communication, August 14, 1991).

During this period of bias in teacher hiring some District Council members served as patrons to teachers that they hired. The teachers then became indebted to them and served as clients. As a result an inefficient and detrimental patron-client relationship was formed, which was only destroyed by the actions of the National Ministry of Education.

Some Zimbabweans have suggested that the Minister of Education, Fay Chung, who is of Chinese heritage, is immune to demands by ethnic groups, such as Shona or Ndebele groups, because of her Chinese heritage. Chung suggested that she did not mind being unpopular and she offered an example (personal communication, August 14, 1991). In 1988 she would not allow parents to control the Ministry and create more and more schools because she wanted to focus on

quality not quantity, "We slowed down the building of schools, because we realized one-half that were built quickly were bad anyway. The people began to realize that it made sense to improve schools that were built, so we made efforts to improve those that were built and we improved 430 of them and 320 are still bad." The previous Minister of Education, Dzingai Mutumbuka, interestingly enough did respond to more local demands to build schools--he was Shona, the largest ethnic group in Zimbabwe.

Moreover, the national government has been accused of ethnic bias in the allocation of resources. In a video interview, a teacher from a Matabeleland school (minority ethnic area with 19% of the population, mostly Ndebeles), said the biggest problem in educational policy is "nepotism, in which Matabeleland schools receive less than schools in Mashonaland (majority area)." This interview revealed that a teacher in a minority ethnic area feels as though his school has received fewer and worst resources than areas in the majority ethnic area--Mashonaland. This may be an isolated comment or it may represent a more widespread perception among non-Shona people in Zimbabwe.

There are two types of education discussed in this chapter, formal and non-formal education. Formal education, in this dissertation, refers to institutionalized education in a school; whereas, non-formal education refers to education outside of the school. Prior to the arrival of

the European and continuing today, is African indigenous or non-formal education. This type of education, as described by Betty Jo Dorsey, a Zimbabwean scholar, is controlled by society, predominantly by the family group. According to Dorsey, traditional (indigenous) education and socialization were characterized by two types of knowledge passed onto the young. One type is a body of knowledge that helped the young carry out daily activities and occasional rituals in the household and village. Dorsey describes the second type of knowledge as the body of "traditional lore concerning natural phenomena, custom and tribal history" (Dorsey, 1975, p. 39). This education was often imparted by family members at initiation ceremonies. Education was frequently imparted through stories and riddles told by senior relatives, such as the grandmother, around the fire after the evening meal (Dorsey, 1975, p. 39).

Dorsey describes "traditional society" as one in which status in society is based on ascriptive criteria such as sex, age and lineage and not based on achievement. "Traditional education, then tended to be an integrative function for a relatively noncompetitive society whose main aim was the transmission of a common culture from one generation to the next and the maintenance of social cohesion" (Dorsey, 1975, p. 39). This "traditional" form of education which contributed to the social cohesion of a society was based on a subsistence agricultural system.

Although aspects remain of this traditional education system controlled by society, formal educational institutions developed (particularly under British colonialization) and replaced some aspects of traditional non-formal education. Formal education developed as a result of the complex forms of division of labor that have formed with the spread of trade (Dorsey, 1975, p. 39). But, some forms of traditional education continue and complement formal institutional education.

Zimbabwe Education Policy From a Historical Perspective

Because historians of the "third world" have tended to rely so heavily on government documents, the prevailing view of these countries is highly government-centered. From these accounts Zimbabweans are taught that the government imposes its will on the people and that there is rarely any societal resistance. This leaves one with the false impression that the government is autonomous and that societal groups are weak and helpless. As a counterpoint, Zimbabwean historian Dickson Mungazi, has gathered extensive data from societal groups (interviews, archives, etc.) as well as from government documents which enable him to present a more realistic and balanced picture of government and societal conflict in Zimbabwe. His findings will be discussed later in this chapter.

When we examine government-society relationships in education policy in Zimbabwe, two distinctive historical periods become apparent: (1) colonial and (2) post-colonial. This chapter will focus extensively on the colonial education policies to lay a foundation for the post-colonial policies discussed extensively in later chapters of the dissertation. However, it should be noted that there was education before the colonial period, such as the non-formal education discussed above, and such as education under the Munhumutapa kingdom which is discussed in the next section of this chapter. Interestingly enough, when both societal and government information is gathered, we find instances of strong societal influence on education policy during all these periods. During some of these periods, i.e. the colonial one, the government acts against the interests of the majority of society. However, societal pressure on government has remained an important feature that affects education policy even during the periods when the government appears to be very authoritarian. In the next section, societal pressure on the government of the Munhumutapa Kingdom will be discussed.

Munhumutapa Kingdom and Societal Pressures on Education Policy

Beginning in the fourteenth century and remaining strong through the early 1600's, the Munhumutapa Kingdom ruled over much of Zimbabwe. One of the oldest documented

conflicts between society and the Munhumutapa government in Zimbabwe over education policy was the result of interactions between the Catholic church (Dominican) and the government of Munhumutapa in 1561 (Mudenge, 1986, p. 3-10). The powerful Munhumutapa kingdom in the 1500's was heavily involved in trade with both the Arabs and the Portuguese. With this powerful government, one may assume that education policy was dominated by the government, but this was not the case. The government of the Munhumutapa was not autonomous in making education policy. Instead, societal groups were very influential in shaping the government's education policy.

Education policy during the Munhumutapa regime fits into the broader context of a political struggle between traditional leaders, Arabs, Portuguese traders, and missionaries, for influence over the political kingdom. Catholic church Friar Silveira from Portugal converted Munhumutapa King, Negomo Mupunzagutu, to Christianity through western education. Yet, Friar Silveira's influence on the Munhumutapa government began to threaten certain vested interests in the government and society, such as traditional Shona religious leaders and Moslem traders, who were close confidants of the Munhumutapa emperor (Mudenge, 1986, p. 3-10).

The Munhumutapa empire had to contend with two competing societal groups with different interests; one

societal group made up of Friar Silveira and his Christian converts and another group made up of Shona traditional groups and Moslem traders (Mudenge, 1986, p. 3-10). The groups had competing views of the world that affected their education policies and religious practices.

While the Christian societal group influenced government policy, societal pressure from Moslem traders and Shona traditional groups convinced Munhumutapa King Negomo that Friar Silveira was a spy for the Portuguese government. King Negomo was told that the Portuguese would try to wrest control of the Munhumutapa kingdom for the purposes of Portuguese colonialization. Of course, the Arabs and traditional leaders were concerned with their own political influence within the regime. Muslims made the case against Christian religious and educational influence, and the societal pressures forced the King to act against Silveira. The result was the execution of Silveira in 1561 (Mudenge, 1986, p. 3-10).

The western education of Munhumutapa Kings and Princes also led to the cultural alienation of the leaders from their followers (Mudenge, 1986, p. 30). Munhumutapa King Mamvura, educated by Portuguese Friars, was considered a puppet of Portugal and a sellout to his people (Mudenge, 1986, p. 20-21). This cultural alienation between leaders and the people has remained an important theme in Zimbabwe

during British colonization and it continues in present independent Zimbabwe.

British Missionary and Colonial Influence in Zimbabwe--1850-1939--Paternalist Phase

British missionary activity in Zimbabwe dates back to the 1850-1890 period in which Missionary David Livingstone began a period of missionary domination of education. British colonization soon followed. The British supported a continuation of religious education by the missionaries in order to pacify Africans into accepting European domination.

Mungazi uses Brazilian education specialist Paulo Freire's three stages of cultural conflict to characterize the different periods of British colonialization in Zimbabwe. Freire argues that there are three stages of the effect of education on the conflict between the people of two different cultures. Mungazi finds that in the first stage of colonialization (1890-1939) the British colonists tried to justify colonization of the Africans by suggesting that British culture was superior, and African culture was primitive and inferior (Mungazi, 1992, pp. xv-xxvi). This indeed characterizes the paternalism that was evident during this period. The former tried to impose their cultural values on the latter. Education policies by the British were tools of the government in their broader plan to dominate the Africans politically, economically, and socially. The other two stages, the consciousness awakening

stage and the liberation war stage, will be considered later in other sub-sections of this chapter.

Cecil John Rhodes initiated European settlement in Zimbabwe in 1890 under the auspices of the British South Africa Company (BSAC). He aimed to build an empire so that he could reap the economic rewards of a mineral rich and agriculture rich region. With the arrival of the BSAC, came an extension of political control over education by the BSAC. Under royal charter, the BSAC ruled over white settlers and Africans from 1890 until 1923. During that time, Company personnel, which served as the new "government" in Zimbabwe, offered land grants to mission personnel to set up mission schools (Dorsey, 1975, p. 40). Company personnel offered land because they wanted Africans to be literate for labor purposes, and they believed that missionaries would be more effective in subduing the African population than policemen (Hassing, 1960, p. 142). The cost of providing education during the early period of European settlement was borne by the missions and the African people (Dorsey, 1975, p. 40), but it clearly benefitted the political ambitions of Rhodes.

Academic Franklin Parker accurately characterizes the 1899 to 1927 educational period as one of Christian missionary influence, industrial education bias (rather than academic education given to whites), and paternalism. Parker notes that the first Education Ordinance was offered

on December 15, 1899, and it created an Education Department and an inspectorate, and set grant earning conditions for separate and segregated white, Asian, Colored, and African schools (Parker, 1959, p. 28). In 1920, a central-teacher-training school was opened. The first government school for Africans was also opened the same year; it served to teach simple craft skills, agricultural techniques, and health demonstrations. Whites did not want Africans to be educated for anything but non-competitive labor positions in white enterprises. The Europeans had strong influential trade unions that prevented Africans from receiving higher technical education from the government (Parker, 1959, p. 31). The Europeans did not want the Africans to receive the same educational advantages because they feared that Africans would then demand political and economic equality.

Zimbabwe (then known as Southern Rhodesia) became a self-governing territory of Britain in 1923. This meant that it was no longer under the BSAC. To some Southern Rhodesians, the government appeared to be more like the government of an independent country than of a dependent colony (Sylvester, 1991, p. 31-32). According to this source, the Southern Rhodesian government was gradually able to gain control over colony finances. In 1927, a separate Department of Native Education was created to administer African education. The main purpose of African education, according to the Europeans, was to create an African labor

pool for the Europeans. The creation of a separate Department of Education for Africans was also significant because it signalled that Africans and Europeans should receive different education. The sentiment of one white in 1927, that blacks and whites should be treated differently, represents the popular opinion of whites then,

We do not intend to hand over this country to the native population or to admit them to the same society or political position as we occupy ourselves, but we do wish to do them justice and enable them to better their position in every way; but we should make no pretense of educating them in exactly the same way as we do Europeans (Parker, 1959, p. 29).

Mungazi calls the period from 1924-1939 the adjustment period in which Africans wanted western education for three reasons: basic literacy, socioeconomic well-being, and the need for political development, which would make their adjustment to colonial conditions less painful (Mungazi, 1992, p. 19). Methodist Rev. Josiah Chimbadzwa offered an example of this when he said,

I cried because I wanted to stay in school to learn to read and to write. This was the only way for us to survive in the society which the British controlled. We had no choice, either we had to learn to read and to write or the white man would continue to take advantage of us. The ability to read and to write did not stop the white man from exploiting us, but it made it possible for us to become more aware of it than we had been the past. Therefore, while the white man wanted to use our ability to read and to write to force us to become more productive laborers, we ourselves saw other benefits which accrued to us and which the white man could not see (Mungazi, 1992, p. 21).

A critical consciousness among the Africans became reality; this was an unforeseen result of educational policy, says

Mungazi (1992, p. 22). This critical consciousness will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Rise of African Consciousness and Conflicts with Government-
-1940-61--Growing Awareness Phase

The post-1935 period, as characterized by Parker, was the "awakening" period in which Africans accepted western schooling and demanded it with passion while outwardly showing growing antipathy to white domination and missionary guidance (Parker, 1959, p. 31). The awakening period, which according to Mungazi, was from 1940-61, involved the rise of African consciousness. Interestingly enough, World War II served as a major catalyst to African nationalism, self consciousness, and demands for better education. After WWII, Africans who served in Europe returned to Southern Rhodesia and were frustrated that they could not secure as good of an education as the whites that they had fought with.

Africans who took part in the war in Europe learned that Britain adopted educational policies that practically eliminated them from participating in the political, social, and economic activities of their countries (Mungazi, 1992, p. 40). Africans fought in Europe in the Allied armies because they were promised by the colonial governments that their condition of life would be improved as a reward for their service (Mungazi, 1992, p. 40).

Upon their return to Southern Rhodesia, Africans shared their experiences in Europe and they started to question the legitimacy of the colonial leadership and the belief that only the Europeans were capable of running a good government (Mungazi, 1992, p. 41). Africans demanded better educational opportunities. New societal groups developed to meet the needs of Africans regarding education. These groups posed a challenge to the colonial government. The African Artisans Guild, the Council of African Chiefs, and the National African War Fund helped Africans establish educational objectives and this self-consciousness alarmed the colonial government (Mungazi, 1992, p. 41). The Europeans feared that the consciousness would lead Africans to make political and economic demands for equality with the Europeans (Mungazi, 1992, p. 69).

Although missions began secondary education for Africans in 1939 in Penhalonga (near Mutare) at St. Augustine's Mission, the Government did not open its first African secondary school until 1946 at Goromonzi (Parker, 1959, p. 30). Besides being the first to offer secondary education for the Africans, Missions also challenged the colonial government to do more for African education. For instance, in 1946, the Methodist Church issued a statement that called for a new educational policy that would benefit Africans (Mungazi, 1992).

Parker noted that after 1942, mounting African societal pressures for more educational facilities prompted a government inquiry into African education, which occurred in 1951. The result was 140 recommendations that would lead to more trained teachers; five years of education for all; and the expansion of secondary and vocational schools. In 1956, a government teacher training school was opened. It was desperately needed since 70% of the teachers, in 1950, were untrained (Parker, 1959, p. 30). While some improvements were made as a result of societal pressures (one result was the 1959 African Education Bill that passed in the legislature and provided a unified teaching service with conditions to enhance the profession), there were still many inequities in African education (Parker, 1959, p. 30). The demands for better education and more land by Africans helped rally them to fight white rule in Southern Rhodesia. This led to the liberation war in 1966.

In 1953, Southern Rhodesia joined Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) in a federation of territories, and as a result White, Asian, and Colored education became a federal responsibility that same year. However, African education remained the responsibility of each territory. Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1933 to 1953 and Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1953-56, expressed his alarm at the growing consciousness among Africans,

We have the sad spectacle of many of our so-called educated Africans wasting their energies on some completely unattainable objectives such as self-government. The African with one foot in his primitive culture presents two problems for the government. The first is how to deal with the immediate situation caused by the misguided and so-called African intellectuals. The second is how to develop the African so that the educated ones do not waste their time on sterile and futile nationalistic agitation. . . . Our task as a government is to reverse the claimed consciousness which is believed to have come about as a result of the war (Mungazi, 1992, p. 52).

Yet, the consciousness of African society only increased due to unfulfilled needs. As a result, Africans put more pressure on the government for better education.

A multiracial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which opened in 1957, offered more equal terms for all races (Parker, 1959, p. 28). Yet, pre-collegiate education was still heavily in the control of missionaries. In 1959, 95% of the schools were administered by missionaries. Prime Minister Garfield Todd, of Southern Rhodesia, coming from a missionary background, tried to improve education policy for Africans. Yet, he was pressured by white voters not to make changes. He was ultimately removed from office, in 1958, after serving five years as Prime Minister (Mungazi, 1992, p. xxi).

One government policy, the Native Councils, was created by the government to curtail opportunities for the Africans. Two factors explain how the Native Councils were meant to curtail opportunities for the Africans. First, the Native Councils Act of 1937, and amendments in 1943 and in 1957,

were enacted in order to force the Africans to serve on advisory boards with no real power. Second, the colonial government limited the activities of the Native Councils to local programs with no implications for national policies in order to deter Africans from challenging the colonial government (Mungazi, 1992, p. 60-63).

The Councils were viewed by the government as a vehicle for the Europeans to use to dictate policy to the local communities. However, the Native Councils ended up being a major staging ground for societal pressure on the government. The Native Councils grew strong which scared the government. They also began to challenge the colonial government's power, which the government had most feared. Mungazi said that by 1960, the Africans formed councils all over the country with objectives different from the government's (Mungazi, 1992, p. 63). Africans questioned the colonial tradition that they considered contrary to their own development (Mungazi, 1992, p. 63).

Africans formed these councils because they questioned the objectives of the colonial government and they wanted a forum for establishing their own objectives and goals. Councils had various objectives such as sinking boreholes, providing ambulance service, offering money for schools, initiating profit making activities such as beer halls and liquor stores, and maintaining tractors (Mungazi, 1992, p. 64). According to Mungazi, the Councils became a shining

example of inspired people with a vision different from the government's vision (Mungazi, 1992, p. 64). With this new vision, came the realization that education would lead to material success and individual fulfillment (Mungazi, 1992, p. 65).

Mungazi discussed in detail the remarkable successes of the Mangwende (Mrewa) Rural District Council (Mungazi, 1992, p. 63). The Mangwende Rural Council, created in 1946, challenged the government's education policy which led to a crisis. By 1960, the Mangwende Rural Council raised \$6,000 to help the various church related schools in the area. It also saved money that later went toward building a school in the area. The Council raised African consciousness about the need for change, and this led to a confrontation with the government.

The Mangwende Council demanded education from the government as an essential tool to facilitate African entry into a new world of success (Mungazi, 1992, p. 65). Specifically, the Council which represented African society, challenged the government to improve the standard of education offered, and to address the serious shortage of qualified teachers in African schools. Africans were mad at the government for the imbalance in the number of schools in the rural versus urban areas. Most Africans living in the rural areas believed that the lack of schools there put their children at a socio-economic disadvantage. Parents in

the rural areas made sacrifices to make sure the Council built schools in their area (Mungazi, 1992, p. 66).

As happens in many government versus societal conflicts, one major aspect that leads to intensified conflicts is the nature of communication between government and society. In general, the colonial government wanted a system in which it did not consult with African society over policy but rather in which it dictated policy in an exclusive manner. According to Mungazi, there was no direct procedure of communication from the Africans to high government officials, except through the chief and the native commissioner in his district. Yet, the government demanded that the chief be its agent, which often prevented the chief from being a representative of his own people (Mungazi, 1992, p. 67).

The native commissioners stood at the top rung of the colonial administrative ladder and often acted as the final colonial authority. The commissioners had the following powers over the Africans: fulfilling liaison functions between the government and Africans, interpreting colonial law to the Africans, issuing instructions to Africans through the chiefs, settling civil disputes, collecting taxes, registering Africans, and issuing registration certificates, to name a few (Mungazi, 1992, p. 66-67).

The colonial government said that any chief who disregarded the limits of his authority was subject to

removal from office, without due process. Many chiefs felt in a precarious situation. Yet, Chief Mangwende of Mrewa had the courage and the will to face this dilemma, and to face the government's challenge to his power (Mungazi, 1992, p. 67). Chief Mangwende challenged the Closed Government Policy Community which was common during the colonial period.

Chief Mangwende became a powerful symbol of the will of African society against the colonial government because he refused to let the Native Commissioner dictate his actions. Instead, he wanted to advance the status of his people. Chief Mangwende and the Council, beginning in 1946, asked the government to build a primary school in the district that the Council itself would control. The Native Commissioner responded on behalf of the government by suggesting that the Africans did not need a government school because there were already mission schools in the area. Yet, at mission schools, Africans had to pay fees while the objective of the Mangwende Rural Council was to build a government school so it did not have to pay fees.

Various people such as council members, village people, businesspeople and members of the local church within the Mangwende society rallied around this fight. Even after the Native commissioner's denial, the Council kept urging the government to build a school. In 1950, the council passed a resolution to withdraw the application for the government to

build the school and submitted an application to build the school with its own funds (Mungazi, 1992, p. 71-72).

As the government refrained from making a decision, societal pressure on the Native Commissioner grew so much that in 1951 the Council convinced him to urge the Government to approve its school. For a brief time, Council members appeared to have some influence on government. Yet, the Chief Native Commissioner feared that independent council schools outside of the direct control of the colonial government would breed subversive political activity. However, the Council continued to pressure government to allow it to build the school and in 1953 the Council voted itself into adjournment until a reply from the government had been received (Mungazi, 1992, p. 76). The government did not respond, so when the Council reconvened, they passed a resolution requesting that Chief Mangwende lead a delegation of headmen, representatives of the community, and the Council to the capital city--Salisbury (called Harare today)--for a discussion with government officials about their application for a school (Mungazi, 1992, p. 76).

Although the formal protocol for meetings between government and African society required societal actors to first receive the Native Commissioner's permission, which Mangwende had not done, the government agreed to meet with Mangwende representatives anyway. Each side was suspicious

of the other, and no substance was discussed. Not only did the meeting fail, it intensified the conflict between the two sides (Mungazi, 1992, p. 77).

Although the government's own Native Councils Act of 1943 authorized Councils to raise and spend funds for projects related to the development of the Africans, the Mangwende Rural Council was still being denied the opportunity to build its own school with its own money. The five-year education plan of 1956 made it illegal for councils to build and operate their own schools (Mungazi, 1992, p. 79-80) because, as discussed, the government feared African consciousness may be adverse to European domination. The Mangwende Rural Council made one final effort to renew its application to government for the school, but it was denied in 1957.

In 1960, the government deposed Mangwende from being Chief of the Mangwende Rural Council; further they banned him for life. According to Mungazi, Africans all over the country were alarmed by the government's treatment of Africans; thus, consciousness grew. This conflict ignited deep animosity among the Africans toward the colonial government. Many Africans felt that their only recourse would be to fight the Europeans in a war.

The case of the Mangwende Rural Council is an example of a Closed Government Policy Community. Societal actors were excluded from the policy community. Hypothesis three

confirms the case of the Mangwende Council because it suggests that in crisis-ridden situations decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control. The government was concerned about the growth of African consciousness that was associated with the growth of Rural Councils. The government perceived that the councils would threaten political stability and control.

Mungazi detailed the activities of the Mangwende Council from 1951 to 1961 as an example of a serious conflict between the Africans and the European government. During this time the conflict between the Europeans and Africans intensified and eventually led to the liberation war in the 1960's. During the 1950's, however, the Mangwende Council was one of many in the country that aided African development. Most of the Councils grew from weakness to strength and this created a "nightmare" for the government, as Mungazi called it (Mungazi, 1992, p. 63). Societal actors were not passive and helpless. As consciousness grew, some societal actors actively protested government policy and many more became willing to fight for change.

The Councils throughout the country formed objectives different from the government, and through the activities of these councils, Africans questioned the objectives of the colonial government. The case of the Mangwende Council

serves to demonstrate "that the Africans' political maturity and the inevitable confrontation emanated from an unintentional political contradiction created by the colonial legal conditions that they considered contrary to their development" (Mungazi, 1992, p. 63). So, while not all the Councils had conflicts that were as intense as the conflict between the government and the Mangwende Council, most Councils wanted African development, which the government feared.

Most Councils during the 1950's and 1960's grew in strength; thus, the pressure from various Councils and the accompanying empowerment of the Africans became a formidable challenge to legitimacy of the white government. Councils served as one important avenue to empower people to demand more participation in, and responsiveness from, the colonial government. However, the government remained unresponsive to African needs so Africans resorted to ending oppression through a liberation war.

Liberation War--1962-79--Liberationist Phase

The final stage of consciousness awakening was from 1962-79. This period was marked by conflict in which Africans desired freedom from the oppressor through participation in a liberation war. The white minority government of the Rhodesia Front (RF) assumed office in 1962; it was considered by Mungazi to go much farther than

any other previous colonial administration in instituting an oppressive system which led to the liberation war. The RF was unwilling to move ahead for mutual racial respect; thus, it responded to African demands by tightening its political control (Mungazi, 1992, p. 89). The RF policy for education was to control African development by curtailing educational opportunity (Mungazi, 1992, p. 81).

Africans argued that they were denied equal opportunity in society because they were denied equal opportunity for education. Africans also asserted that they were denied equal opportunity in the political system. As a result of African opposition to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the British government dissolved it in 1963 (Mungazi, 1992, p. 148).

In 1963, the government had to contend with a national organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and its demands for equality in education and in society itself. ZANU was made up largely of members of Zimbabwe's largest ethnic group, the Shona, although others were also members. Although ZANU was formed in 1962, other organizations that aimed at achieving political independence were formed before then, such as the ANC in 1957, and the National Democratic Party in 1960--both were banned soon after their creation. Although ZANU was banned in 1964, it remained a powerful nationalist organization during the war

and at independence its leader, Robert Mugabe, assumed political leadership in Zimbabwe.

Ian Smith, who was RF's leader during the war suggested the important role education played in the conflict. He believed that the African politicians were looking for a cause, and education apparently appealed to the Africans more than any other (Mungazi, 1992, p. 82).

The RF government preferred to spend its resources on European education, and as a result African education deteriorated further. Only two percent of the GNP was spent on African education whereas 22 percent of GNP was spent on white education (Mungazi, 1992, p. 83). Examples of the deterioration in African education were as follows: facilities were poor, expenditures had been reduced, curriculum was tightly controlled by the government, and teachers were arbitrarily dismissed because they were suspected of sympathizing with the nationalists.

In 1964 African students displeased with the deterioration in schools, boycotted classes. As a result, 80% of the schools were closed down (Mungazi, 1992, p. 85). Mungazi says that the massive boycott during 1964 led C.S. Davies, the secretary for African education in the RF Government, to characterize 1964 as "the year of troubles" (Mungazi, 1992, p. 148).

Ian Smith, prime minister from 1964-79, was trying to set Africans back, and as a result he intensified the

conflict, turning it into a liberation war. On November 11, 1965, Smith declared Rhodesia unilaterally independent from Britain in an attempt to foil the effort of the Africans (Mungazi, 1992, p. xxiii), and in order to seize political power from the governor appointed by Britain. The RF feared that Britain would offer Africans economic and political concessions and they wanted to maintain domination over the Africans. This set off a national crisis (Mungazi, 1992, p. 148).

As a result of the independence declaration by the white government, African students all over the country joined in protest marches and warned that serious problems would arise from RF education policy. Students from five leading schools in the country took part in the march and the RF government dispatched riot squads to break up the march. When an African student, who thought his arrest and detention was illegal, returned to the University College in Harare, the police came to re-arrest him. According to Mungazi, college president Walter Adams protested and argued that the RF was a police state (Mungazi, 1992, p. 85).

Michael Holman, president of the university's student body and chairman of the representative council, was arrested in 1967 by the RF government for writing a poem in the university student paper which criticized the RF's racial laws and educational policies. The student body marched to the parliament building to demand Holman's

release and when the police tried to break up the march violence erupted. The police closed the university and harassed university professors. Walter Adams and scholar Terence Ranger were deported (Mungazi, 1992, p. 86).

In 1968, the Land Tenure Act number 55 that divided the country into white and black lands put the university in the white areas; therefore, African students who wished to attend it had to apply for a special government permit. African students refused to submit any applications for a special permit because it was, they believed, their right to attend the university (Mungazi, 1992, p. 87). By 1972, the RF was losing support from some former white supporters. A number of schools closed in 1973 as students disappeared and joined the nationalist guerrilla army (Mungazi, 1992, p. 87).

In 1979, the RF government decided to conscript Africans into its army; this included Africans at the university. Instead of joining the army, many students signed a petition against military conscription. The petition called participation in the RF army "immoral" (Mungazi, 1992, p. 88). Although the RF government was in desperate need for more personnel, university students refused to join the government in war.

In 1979, due to the heavy casualties the RF suffered, shortage of personnel, military pressure from African nationalist guerrillas, and the severe economic strain that

the war caused, Smith was forced to sign a cease-fire (Mungazi, 1992, p. 87-88). The cease fire led to the convening of the Lancaster House conference in London. The result of the conference was the end of the white minority ruled government. Robert Mugabe, of ZANU, became the leader of a newly independent Zimbabwe in 1980.

Societal Demands Influence Government Policy in Independent Zimbabwe--1980-1987--Populist Phase

To mention briefly the post-colonial periods, two trends are apparent. First, right after independence in 1980 and until 1987, the government was very responsive to societal demands in education policy. This phase, discussed in this sub-section, can be called the Populist Phase. Second, from 1988-1992 the government became more autonomous on some education issues; thus, society-government rifts emerged. The second phase will be discussed in the next sub-section of the chapter.

Since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, there have been important quantitative improvements in education that have pleased Africans in the country; however, the question of quality of education still persists as a major concern today. The quantitative improvements in education offer evidence that the new independent government wanted to listen to the needs of its people when addressing more educational opportunities. The number of students, teachers, and schools in Zimbabwe has increased greatly. In

secondary schools in Zimbabwe, which this dissertation concerns itself most with, enrollment increased ninefold between 1979 and 1987. The primary education enrollment nearly tripled. In 1980, there were 819,586 students in primary school; in 1984, there were 2,132,304 (Secretary for Education, 1987).

To respond to the increase in enrollment, and parents demand for more schools, the new government built more schools. According to Fuller,

Rapid construction of more schools . . . serves a variety of state interests: reducing barriers among tribes that speak different languages, encouraging economic integration and entry to the wage economy, building individual loyalty to the nation-state rather than to tribal or religious authority, and (allegedly) boosting economic productivity and growth (Fuller, 1991, p. 3-4).

Chung suggested that from 1984-1987 parents organized their communities and District Councils to demand that the Ministry build more schools (personal communication, August 14, 1991). She said that the Ministry responded and built more schools due to the populist pressure from society. This case of building new schools is a clear example of how societal groups were able to influence a decision and how the government had open channels of communication with society. The building of more schools was in the interests of society and government reformers.

Student enrollment has out-paced expenditures and government resources; and as a result the quality of education has been affected. According to Fuller, "As

economic growth has levelled-off or dissolved, eroding government resources are being spread over more and more students. Already minimal levels of educational quality are declining even further," in terms of southern Africa and the Third World (Fuller, 1991, p. 4).

From 1979 to 1989, the budget for primary and secondary education in Zimbabwe has tripled in real terms. Yet, primary and secondary education in 1989 was only 12.9% of the total national budget, which is roughly the same percentage as before independence in 1979 (Central Statistical Office, Budgets, 1979-1988 and Chidzero, 1989). Thus, the amount the government could spend per child in the 1980's was less than in 1979. Therefore, although more students were being educated after independence, the quality of education and the availability of educational materials decreased. As Fuller explains, "educational quality erodes because of the scarcity of material resources and technical expertise" (Fuller, 1991, p. xii).

Expanding educational opportunity was expensive. To enroll as many students as possible in 1982, the government, facing financial constraints, cut the salaries of teachers by 10%. As a result, teachers went on strike to demand better conditions for service--700 teachers were dismissed. This was the beginning of a new national crisis (Mungazi, 1992, p. 105). However, there were examples of popular policies such as described below.

The ZANU-PF government abolished the distinction between black and white education and created a single system for all students, which African society had demanded since the colonial period. The new system sought to introduce a free and compulsory primary and secondary education. Free primary education existed for the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, but since 1991, due to lack of funds, education is no longer free for primary students, and school fees are received from parents.

In July 1983, the government announced its intention to design a national syllabus that was in line with Zimbabwe's developmental needs (Mungazi, 1992, p. 106). ZANU-P also recognized that the economy of Zimbabwe needed skilled artisans and technicians so it instituted more technical training and created a Zimbabwe Institute for Technology (Mungazi, 1992, p. 95). The new government accelerated teacher training and adult literacy programs to respond to the needs of society.

Mutumbuka served as Zimbabwe's first Minister of Education and Culture after independence, and was applauded by many for instituting a fairer educational system. But, as a result of a scandal in 1989, following his conviction on charges of corruption, he resigned. Up until then, he was known for equalizing educational opportunity. Also, he was known for expanding educational opportunity for the African society. President Mugabe, a former teacher, was a

strong supporter of improved African education and literacy, and he believed that education led to individual and national liberation, progress, and a more unified society.

Government-Societal Relations-Mixed Results--1988-present--
Conflictual Phase

The years of 1988 and 1989 mark the return of a major crisis between government and society over education policy. It is important though to place the education crisis in its political context. Edgar Tekere, a leading member of the ZANU-PF party, resigned in 1988 to protest the introduction of a one-party system supported by President Mugabe and to protest government corruption. After resigning, Tekere created a new political party in 1988 called ZUM (Zimbabwe Unity Movement), which represents many Manyika (a sub-group of the Shona ethnic group) as well as others. President Mugabe comes from a different sub-group of the Shona--the Zezuru.

The corruption scandal angered university students. Students at the University of Zimbabwe protested government corruption and listened to Tekere speak at the University in July of 1989. When students at the University of Zimbabwe listened intently to Tekere criticize government policy, this allegedly frightened the President. The government sent riot troops onto campus to prematurely end Tekere's speech.

The corruption scandal also had an impact on primary and secondary education. In April 1989, a commission of inquiry, known as the Sandura Commission (after Judge Sandura), uncovered widespread corruption by six senior members of government including Dzingai Mutumbuka, the powerful Minister of Education and Culture, which controls primary and secondary education. Mutumbuka was fined \$105,000 following a trial and conviction on charges of corruption.

Fay Chung became the Minister of Education and Culture (same as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education) on August 4, 1989, when Dzingai Mutumbuka resigned due to the corruption conviction. The education policies studied in this dissertation are mostly during her period of control of the Ministry which was from 1989 to 1992.

In 1989, Fay Chung also served as Minister of Higher Education; but she was replaced thereafter by David Karimanzira who served briefly as Minister. In a cabinet reshuffle in the spring of 1992 she was moved; she became the Minister of State for National Affairs, Employment Creation and Co-operatives. Stanley Mudenge became the Minister of Higher Education. Finally, Dr. Witness Mangwende became the Minister of Education and Culture.

Since 1988-89 there have been major rifts between societal interests and government interests in education policy. In 1990, primary and secondary teachers went on strike to protest increasing demands on them, rapid

enrollment growth, and inadequate salaries (Mungazi, 1992, p. 110-111). Interestingly enough, the present period which is examined intensely in later chapters of this dissertation is characterized by a mixed relationship between society and government. On some issues, the government is receptive to societal demands, still on other issues the government is forced to respond to societal demands, and on yet other issues, the government suppresses societal demands.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the interaction between government, state, and societal actors in making education policy has been a feature of Zimbabwean history since the Munhumatapa days. However, there are distinguishable historical phases in which variation occurs in the strength of societal and governmental resources and it is important to understand these because the present is shaped heavily by the past. During the first phase of colonialism, the paternalist phase, this chapter has demonstrated that the colonialists and missionaries were able to force their form of education on society.

A clear trend emerged after the paternalist phase in which societal groups demanded better education for the majority of Africans. The "growing awareness" phase and the "liberationist" phase revealed a steady growth in societal resistance to government education policy. During the

"growing awareness" phase, the conflict between the Mangwende Council and government emerged.

The conflict between Mangwende and the government was discussed in detail in this chapter because it offers important lessons that are relevant to the rest of this dissertation. The Mangwende case is an example of the Closed Government Policy Community. The crucial historical lesson exposed in this chapter is that conflict arose because communication was inadequate between government and society. Although Africans saw tribal authorities, councils, and village heads as their channels of communication to government, those bodies, in essence, only served as avenues for the colonial government to issue orders. The relationship between the Mangwende Council and the government is very similar to the relationship between the university community and the government discussed in Chapter Four.

At independence in 1980, the populist phase emerged and societal groups were very influential in making education policy. At independence, the government did begin to open channels of communication with district councils, headmasters, and interest groups and some dialogue did commence. Some of this dialogue and interaction persists today.

Since 1988, a conflictual phase has emerged in education policy, which is the focus of the rest of this

dissertation. This present period is mixed in terms of societal versus governmental power in education policy. This present period, as compared to the populist phase, is characterized by the government cutting back its channels of communication with society. On some issues society and government appear to cooperate and interact and yet this period is also marked by major conflicts between societal and governmental actors. One major conflict to emerge during this period is the case of government control of the University of Zimbabwe, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Four. In the next chapter, general views about education policy, from societal and governmental actors, are exposed.

CHAPTER 3
GENERAL VIEWS ON THE EDUCATION POLICY
PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE

Overview

This chapter will focus on general views expressed by key government actors and societal actors in order to understand the education policy-making process. General findings from the teacher, student, and headmaster surveys, (distributed to 31 different schools), as well as from interviews with government officials will be presented in relation to the model of government responsiveness and the policy communities approach. The following will be examined: Key education actors and their preferences, societal efforts to mobilize their resources, degrees of openness, degrees of consultation, government responsiveness to societal influence during decision-making, and conclusion.

By examining actors' views of the education policy-making process, we can find out how satisfied they are that their needs are being met. We can also find out whether actors feel that the policy-making process is either democratic, corporatist, or authoritarian and why it is such.

Discussion of Components of the Model

Key Policy Actors and Their Preferences

It is necessary to first identify the major actors in the education policy process and then to compare their preferences to see if they are divergent or convergent. Teacher, headmaster, student, and government preferences will be examined to determine if there are major differences in preferences that could cause societal-government conflict over education policy. One measurement of preferences was given to 862 students, 117 teachers, 23 headmasters, and Fay Chung, the Minister of Education, who in this case represents the government's views. The teachers, headmasters, students, and Chung were asked "What are your five greatest needs from government to improve education?"

I will discuss the five greatest needs of the teachers first, then the students, next the headmasters, and finally the Minister of Education's. The greatest need of teachers, mentioned by 21.3% of them, was for more textbooks. Teachers indicated that there was a shortage of textbooks in their respective schools; two even cited that 10 students shared one textbook. Clearly, the rich private schools had less of a shortage of textbooks than the poorer rural District Council schools. The second greatest need expressed by the teachers was for the following types of equipment (not necessarily in this order): Labs, chemicals,

science equipment, technical tools, and an overhead projector.

The third greatest need voiced by teachers was for the following facilities (not necessarily in this order): school buildings, maintenance, furniture, and classroom facilities. The fourth greatest need mentioned by teachers was for higher pay and teacher accommodations. It may be surprising to some that teachers relegate their own needs of higher pay and accommodation to their fourth need. Teachers place the needs of their students for more textbooks, equipment, and facilities above their own needs. This may be explained in part by the fact that teacher accommodations are often provided for by the local communities. Yet, three teachers surveyed said the government needs to increase teachers salaries or teachers will strike and search for other jobs. The fifth greatest need according to teachers was for either a library or a better equipped library, including more library books, and reference books, such as dictionaries.

Before considering student preferences, it is important to examine the sample of students surveyed to illustrate how representative they are in relation to the entire student population in Zimbabwe. Then one can more accurately generalize about these preferences. In Chapter One I discussed how representative students were in terms of the type of school they attended and also in terms of regional

distribution. In this study the nine regions in Zimbabwe were represented almost equally and different types of schools were well represented. Below is a discussion of how representative students are in terms of the quality of school attended (according to pass rates and how advantaged the school is), and in terms of gender.

Students were asked, "Do you feel that you are more advantaged, equally advantaged or disadvantaged from other students in Zimbabwe in preparing for the O level exams?" The results were nearly equal. About a third (31.8) said they thought they were more advantaged than most students while another third (35.3%) thought they were just as advantaged. A final third (32.9%) thought that they were not as advantaged as other students. This can be desegregated in terms of types of schools. Most of the students at high-quality private schools, independent schools, and urban church related schools said that they were more advantaged than most students in the country. However, very few students at District Council, rural farm, rural mine, or even township schools said they were more advantaged, they were more likely to suggest that they were not as advantaged or just as advantaged as other students. Students' views of how advantaged they are strongly correlated with the type of school they attend as discussed above. Students who attend schools in the city also perceive that they are more advantaged than students in the

townships or rural areas. This is because the private, independent, and urban church related schools are in the city. Further, there is a positive correlation between the quality of the school (as measured by the percentage of students passing five O levels) and the students' belief that they are more advantaged.

Relative to non-surveyed students in Zimbabwe, 66.2% of the students in this sample feel that their education is better than other Zimbabwean students. This seems to suggest that this sample may be slightly skewed to the more advantaged population of students. However, this is not true since each level of advantage was equally represented as illustrated below. About a quarter of the sampled students come from what I would consider top quality schools with an O level pass rate of 64% and over. Another quarter of the students come from medium-high quality schools with a pass rate of 26.6%-60%, while a different quarter come from schools with a medium to low pass rate of 18%-26%. Finally, a quarter of the students come from low quality schools with a pass rate of 14% or less. Some may question the validity of measuring quality of school by pass rate but when one considers that the low pass rate schools also have the least qualified teachers and fewest resources this is a justifiable measure for our purposes. To raise the quality of education the government must improve the training of teachers and the supply of important resources such as

textbooks and equipment in order prepare students to succeed on the O level exams.

Next, it is important to examine the gender composition in my student survey in order to understand the difference in female and male attendance in school. There are not as many women in secondary schools as there are men. Form four, which is the equivalent of the last year of high school in the United States, is an upper level and there are even fewer females. Accordingly, 62.6% of the students sampled in form four were males and 36.3% were females. Clearly, this corresponds with the actual student population, further indicating the validity of the actual gender selection. Now that the sample is found to be nearly representative of students in Zimbabwe we can more thoroughly consider the student preferences.

Students are the main recipient of education policy; consequently, their preferences are important to consider. Students were asked, "What are the five most important things you need from your government to make your education better?" Forty-three percent of the students responded that their greatest need was for more, and better and more varied textbooks. It is interesting to note that both teachers and students report that textbooks are their greatest need. The second greatest need of students is for better trained, qualified, and motivated teachers. Teachers also thought

better trained teachers were important but it was teachers sixth choice.

The third greatest need for students was for the following facilities (not necessarily ranked in this order): school buildings, maintenance, furniture, and classroom facilities. Interestingly, this also ranked as teachers' third greatest need. The fourth greatest need for students ranked as the second greatest need for teachers. It was for the following types of equipment: labs, chemicals, science equipment, technical tools, and an overhead projector. This was the teachers' second greatest need. The fifth greatest need of students (9.4%) was for either a library or for a better equipped library; one with more books, such as reference books. This was also teachers' fifth greatest need.

The preferences of headmasters are also important to examine since they closely parallel or match both those of the teachers and those of the students. As such, they were asked the same question that both the teachers and students were asked; "What are your five greatest needs?" The greatest need voiced by the headmasters was for better teacher training, and more facilities (classrooms, buildings, and furniture). It is interesting to note that teacher training was the second greatest need students addressed while more facilities was the third greatest need of both the students and the teachers.

The second greatest need among headmasters was teacher support (such as more pay and more or better accommodations). The third greatest need of headmasters was for more and improved facilities such as buildings, classrooms, and furniture. This was also the third greatest need of teachers and students. The fourth greatest need addressed by the headmasters was for a library or for a improved library, whichever the case may be. This was the fifth greatest need of students. The final greatest need of the headmasters was for more financial support; such as fees, loans, and money for purchase of more equipment, electricity.

In order to assess the needs of government, Minister Chung was interviewed to represent the views of the government (personal communication, August 14, 1991). She discussed the top three concerns the Ministry holds. First, she stressed the need for high quality education suited to Zimbabwean needs--a more practical job training education; however, as we will discover in Chapter Six on curriculum, practical education is controversial and resisted by many in society. In fact, none of the major societal actors surveyed (teachers, students and headmasters) mentioned this as one of their top five greatest needs. Therefore, the main priority of societal actors appears to diverge from the governments. In comparison to Chung's priority for a high quality practical education, teachers' and students'

greatest need/priority was for textbooks, but Chung, representing the government view, does not mention textbooks as a need. Thus, we can see a further divergence.

Regarding the government's first priority, the need for high quality education, Chung commented:

We need a quality education that is relevant to our developmental and social needs, which is not the same as what whites had, but an education that is tailored to our stage of development, that reflects the realities of the communal areas, and promotes skills and conceptual training that assists in this. I admit we have an uphill battle, against conservative and fixed positions. Because parents still want and demand what whites had (prior to independence--academic education, not technical). Also the teachers are a conservative group and they want what they used to have. So, we must not go ahead of the teachers, and that is why we have such an involved and thought-out process of decision-making, because to be effective we must not go against teachers' ideas or we will not succeed. We must incorporate teachers concerns in policy and others concerns as well.

Although in general, teachers did not see the need for high quality practical education as a major need, one teacher surveyed from a rural District Council school did concur with Chung about the need for improving the quality of schools. He/She comments:

It is high time that the Zimbabwe educational system diverted from quantity to quality education. Rural schools especially ought (to be) well equipped with learning materials.

One reason the teachers did not claim the need for high quality education as a major need may be because they saw that as a given. However, there is some support among teachers for tracking or screening students into academic or practical education routes. Fifteen point nine percent of

the teachers asked "What suggestions would you make to your school and government to improve education" said they think there is a need to screen students for practical subjects. A headmaster explained why this was necessary; "Mass education is leading to disappointment over unfulfilled hopes in the youth, no employment after meager O level passes." Only students who pass five O level subjects are eligible for the A level exam. The A level is the equivalent of 12th grade and the first year of college in the United States. At the June 1991 National Association of Secondary Headmasters (NASH) meeting, Chung further stressed the need for quality education. She said that the Ministry of Education's goal was no longer expansion of education but improving the quality of education.

Government's second greatest need, as expressed by Chung, is to finish building half built schools, and to furnish them with better equipment and libraries. This second need coincides with the teachers' second greatest need for equipment; their third greatest need for facilities; and with their fifth greatest need for libraries. Likewise, it also corresponds with the students' third greatest need for buildings and facilities; with the students' fourth greatest need for equipment; and with the students' fifth greatest need for a library.

The Government's third greatest need is teacher training. This coincides with students' second greatest

need and teachers sixth greatest need. The Minister discussed the importance of teacher training by saying,

Teacher training is a big concern, we still have 20,000 to 30,000 untrained teachers out of 80,000 teachers. Our big concern is that when things change in South Africa, many of our trained teachers will go down south to South Africa. So, we have to keep this in mind and take measures to deal with the situation. We could have all our teachers trained by 1992 but about then South Africa may improve and we could lose teachers we have trained. But, it is a reality we must deal with. We have embarked on an Associate Teacher program which lasts for two years. But, teachers stay at school and teach for two years and only go away for three weeks of training, and at school they teach and use distance education materials to be trained.

But, the type of teacher training that government and society want differs. For instance, government wants more distance education (non-institution based education that can be done at home) while teachers favor institution-based training. While 78.5% of teachers interviewed preferred institute training over distance education methods the government has chosen to accelerate distance training. Therefore, there is a divergence in preferences between government and societal actors (teachers) over the preferred mode of teacher training. And, as we will see in Chapter Seven, the government controls teacher training without much societal input because they control the purse strings. Essentially, the government is the more powerful player in formulating teacher training policy, and since they favor distance education it is likely institution-based training will not prevail.

So we see that when comparing government and teachers' main needs, there are striking divergences. Neither the teachers' desire for institution based training nor their need for textbooks are priorities of the government. Similarly, the teachers' concerns about higher pay and more or better accommodations are not priorities of government.

When comparing student needs to government needs, divergences also appear. For example student needs for textbooks like those of teachers, is not a major priority of the government. Therefore, a conflict is more likely to arise due to societal interests (those of students and teachers) not being major concerns of the government. However, students and government do share some major concerns, such as the need for buildings, equipment, and library facilities.

Headmasters' concerns about teacher support (accommodations and better pay), and financial support are not major concerns of the government. Therefore, one can predict hostility between headmasters and the government over these issues.

It is necessary to construct a table that clearly illustrates and summarizes the major differences between the five greatest needs of societal actors and of the government, as expressed by the Minister of Education. The next page will present Table 3-1 which compares different preferences of these actors.

Table 3-1.
Comparison of Societal and Governmental Greatest Needs

Greatest Needs	Teachers	Students	Headmasters	Government Minister
First	21.3% textbooks	43% textbooks	21.7% teacher training & 21.7% facilities	High quality practical education
Second	14.7% equipment	26.6% teacher training	21.7% teacher support such as higher pay and accommodations	Finish building half-built schools and furnish with equipment & library
Third	10.6% facilities	12.4% facilities	21.7% facilities	Teacher training
Fourth	11% higher pay & teacher accommodations	10.6% equipment	17.4% library	
Fifth	10.6% library	9.4% library	17.4% financial support	
	n=117	n=862	n=23	n=1

Societal actors and government actors differ greatly over who should decide school policy. A question posed to students on the survey to determine or gauge preferences was, "Who should decide school policy?" Interestingly, the most popular response (36.7%) was the Headmaster. The Central government in Harare was cited next (15.3%), and the District Council next frequently (4.9%), followed by the

teachers (2.4%). Community groups were mentioned by only 1.7% while most of the remainder suggested that a combination of people/groups should decide. Yet in contradistinction, the government prefers to control school policy. It is important to bear in mind that there is an important difference between stating goals, needs, and preferences and actually delivering on them.

To be effective, the government must form mutually beneficial relationships between itself and the school community. Making the schools more relevant and accountable to the preferences of local communities would aid in that (Fuller, 1991).

Now that we have discussed different preferences of key actors in establishing education policy it is important to consider another important actor--the District Education Officer (DEO) in order to complete the cycle. The representative of the government that can serve as intermediary or access point between the school and the National Ministry of Education are often the District Education Officer (DEO), the Subject Educational Officer, and the School Inspector. They try to build convergent preferences between the government and society.

The DEO is a mid-level bureaucrat who links the central ministry with every school headmaster (Fuller, 1991, p. 113). The DEO can go beyond checking the school for compliance with national norms and can also attend to

problems that parents or village leaders may point out (Fuller, 1991, p. 91). In addition, the DEO can provide an access point between schools and the government. If the DEO responds to particular local demands and grievances, its "Position is threatened if he/she can not adequately respond to, or mobilize, village chiefs and local parents" (Fuller, 1991, p. 91).

For those schools in the rural areas controlled by the local District Council, not the Ministry of Education representative, the DEO, the main point of access often is the District Council's Education Officer. District Education offices and local councils often hold significant authority because they work with village leaders, churches, headmasters and teachers to form local interdependencies or policy communities at the grassroots level. These interdependencies are essential in legitimizing the school and motivating local groups to help finance classroom construction. The central government gains because it may be able to enhance the legitimacy and authority of traditional local leaders who align themselves with the central government (Fuller, 1991, p. 21). These interdependencies or policy communities help mobilize resources to influence education policy which is the topic of the next section. Next, it is important to examine how society mobilizes its resources to influence education policy.

Societal Efforts to Mobilize Their Resources

It is important to find out what resources societal groups, such as teachers, parents, and headmasters mobilize to impact education policy. To begin with let us examine the resources that teachers utilize in order to make their concerns known to the government. Teachers were asked in the survey, "In what ways do you make your concerns known to government?" The most popular response (35.2%) was that teachers use teacher and headmaster organizations, such as ZIMTA (the Zimbabwe Teachers Association) and NASH (National Association of Secondary School Headmasters) to make their concerns known.

Bernard Gatawa, Regional Director of Mashonaland East for the Ministry of Education, said in an interview that, "ZIMTA is the most powerful teacher association and they discuss conditions of service, salary and development" (personal communication, June 19, 1991). One headmaster said teacher organizations and headmaster organizations are listened to by the government.

The second most popular response (26.4%) was that teachers make their concerns known to their headmaster who then tells government. The third most popular response (19%) was that teachers make their concerns known directly to Ministry of Education officials, such as Subject Education Officers. There are Subject Education Officers in different fields such as Math and English and they assist

teachers. But, some 12% said government was inaccessible. So, ZIMTA, and NASH are the most influential groups in making societal concerns known to government, as is the PTA which will be discussed later.

Table 3-2.

Teachers' Resources to Make Their Concerns Known to the Government

Resources to Make Their Concerns Known to Government	Teachers' Use of Resources
Government is inaccessible	12.1%
Strikes	1.1%
Press/media	5.5%
Teacher/headmaster associations	35.2%
Headmaster to government	26.4%
Local authorities	1.1%
Ministry of Education	18.7%

Interestingly, teachers in rural and urban areas differed significantly in how they made their concerns known to government. For instance, teachers in the rural areas tend to rely more on their national teacher associations, the media, including the press, and strikes to make their concerns known to government. One rural teacher expressed it this way, "Strike only, nothing else," works. Teachers in the rural areas rely on more indirect means of communication to make their concerns known to government. This may be because rural teachers do not have as much

opportunity as urban teachers to meet with Ministry officials.

Teachers in the urban areas either directly consult Ministry of Education district, local, and national officials or rely more on government chains of command such as notifying their headmaster who in turn notifies a district, regional, or national government official. This is most likely because teachers in urban areas live and work closer to where Ministry of Education officials live and work; thus, they can interact more readily. A very interesting finding was that urban teachers find government officials less accessible than rural teachers. This may be because teachers in the urban areas have higher expectations of access to Ministry officials.

Table 3-3.
Comparison of How Teachers Make Their Concerns Known to Government in Rural and Urban Areas

Resources to Make Their Concerns Known to Government	Urban	Rural
Government is inaccessible	14.9%	9.1%
Strikes	0	2.3%
Press/media	4.3%	6.8%
Teacher/head association	21.3%	50.0%
Headmaster to government	34.0%	18.2%
Local authorities	2.1%	0
Ministry of Education	23.4%	13.6%

n=117; nominal data: Lambda=.10; SE=.08;
significance=.10 level.

The sample is representative of urban and rural areas in Zimbabwe. Of the schools surveyed, 46% are rural, 29% are in the city, and 25% are in "townships" for a total of 54% in urban areas. This corresponds closely to the actual locations and the number of schools in each setting because, nationally, about one-half of the schools are urban schools and one-half are rural schools.

Males and females differed in their views regarding access to the central government. Female teachers believe they have less access to Central Government than male teachers. Both were asked, "Do you have access to Central Government officials to raise your concerns." Of the percent of teachers that answered no they do not have access to the Central Government to raise their concerns, 53.1% were females and 29.2% were males, as shown in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4.
Differences Between Male and Female Teachers Regarding
Access to the Central Government

Teachers' Access to Central Government	Female	Male
Yes	15.6%	20.0%
No	53.1%	29.2%
Not applicable	9.3%	1.5%
1-3 on 10 point scale--low access	21.9%	35.4%
4-6 on 10 point scale--medium access	0	10.8%
7-10 on 10 point scale--high access	0	3.1%

n=117; nominal data: Lambda=.07; SE=.068;
significance=.10 level.

Considering the extensive interaction between NASH and government officials it is also important to consider interaction between government and teachers. Teachers were asked in the surveys if they have access to central government officials to raise their concerns, and the difference between males and females was revealed in Table 3-4. In Table 3-5 the combined views of male and female teachers about their access to central government officials to raise concerns are revealed.

Table 3-5.
Teachers' Access to the Central Government to Raise Their Concerns

Teachers' Access to Central Government	Teachers
Yes	18.4%
No	37.8%
Not applicable	4.0%
1-3 on 10 point scale--low access	30.6%
4-6 on 10 point scale--medium access	7.1%
7-10 on 10 point scale--high access	2.0%

According to Table 3-5, 18.4% replied that they do have access, while 37.8% have no access, 30.6% said they have a low amount of access (1-3 of 10). When you combine those that responded that they either have no access or they have a low amount of access the result is 67% of the respondents. Of those that claimed they had access to the central government, 30% talk to Subject Education Officers, 22.6%

talk to the central government via the headmaster and 13.2% speak directly to ZIMTA representatives.

Next, it is important to consider the resources used by headmasters to influence government policy. The National Association of Secondary School Headmasters (NASH) provides headmasters with access to the central government. NASH is an interest group that was created to make headmasters' needs known to government and to offer headmasters an organization in which they can interact with each other. Gatawa commented on how influential NASH is. He said it is a "fairly powerful pressure group" (personal communication, June 19, 1991). He added that NASH discusses problems related to secondary headmasters, such as organizing secondary sports, time-tabling, service for teachers, staffing issues, and discipline.

The headmasters were asked, "What impact do you and your community members have in education policy at local and national level?" Most headmasters suggested that they had very little influence, as validated by the following comment; "Next to nothing. All directives come from above. Society and schools simply obey." Similarly, another headmaster said he had no influence while two others agreed. One of them commented that there was, "very little impact at [the] formulation stage but [they were] expected to be deeply involved in the implementation stage." Another headmaster confirmed that headmasters only implement the

policy which is designed by the government. Still another reacted by stating that he only had nominal impact, but it was only a result of reaction to some unacceptable decisions made from above. An example, he offered of an unacceptable decision was the O level history syllabus. He did not indicate what was unacceptable about the syllabus, but it appears that he might have thought the O level history syllabus presented a biased or one-sided view of history. Overall, headmasters feel that they have very little impact on policy.

A few headmasters in the survey discussed the role of community actors in education policy. One headmaster indicated that the schools and community were involved in assisting both local and national authorities by providing funds to construct more buildings at existing schools and for the building of new schools. Yet, another headmaster echoed the sentiments of others by saying that the community respected its leadership in school as people who help their children succeed in life. The community members and the teachers are there to implement the policies at the local level. One headmaster, however, contends that the community has no involvement in education policy. Another said, "The community has had no influence at all." He/she added that the,

Ministry of Education is autonomous in making education decisions in that they determine policy on what should be done. However, as an arm of government, some of its decisions are influenced by the political atmosphere

prevailing--which is where parents as voters contribute. Local authority determines which technical/vocational subjects should be done based on resources available [and] as a member of my teachers' organization I have some influence at local and national level although what comes out might not be exactly as per recommendation.

Headmasters were asked, "What role should you have in policy-making?" The following is a sample of different responses from headmasters:

1. should be consulted and be part of advisory bodies to the government,
2. should have far more influence on policy than they do because they are the people dealing with the immediate problems,
3. should supply information and help interpret policy,
4. should be able to expand to sixth form and to recruit any teacher from any school,
5. should be able to initiate policy from the grassroots, and
6. should have the role of an educator to both the community and the pupils.

One headmaster described his proper role. He said, "the community needs to be educated on how they can assist in the education of their children while the pupils need my guidance on successful living requirements."

To be more exact, some headmasters presented actual duties in regard to the roles they should have. For example

a headmaster said the role of the headmaster is, "to interpret the education policy to the community and to implement government policy." Another said his role should be as a practical advisor while another said he wants to be able to play some decisive role in respect to the community he serves. Still another suggested that feasibility studies involving the community and the teachers should be gathered so that the ultimate policy is the work of all of the beneficiaries. Another suggested he should be the spokesman and enunciator of popular views from his community.

Other headmasters want to have more say in policy-making as well. One believes that he should have the role of an advisor; "As a practitioner living in a community, I should make recommendations intended to improve and benefit the lot in my community. My recommendations should be seriously considered when policy is made." He continues, "My recommendations would be a result of consultation, observation, and research locally."

One headmaster summed up the proper role of a headmaster as one who: (1) collects from parents what they determine education should be, (2) articulates it, (3) discusses it in workshops with education officers, (4) formulates it into policy, (5) sends it to chief education officers for approval and stamping, and (6) implements it. While headmasters perceive that they have a small impact on

policy-making; they clearly want to play a more active role in policy-making.

According to the teachers, PTA's and parents are influential community groups in mobilizing resources. Two headmasters discussed the important role of parents in the policy process. A headmaster said that during "Parents Day" he collects parents' views and then raises them to policy-makers at appropriate forums such as during department head seminars and head seminars when Ministry officials are present. Another headmaster said that politicians respond to parents. He confirmed that the government was not autonomous and that parents had power because politicians view and treat parents as voters. As such, it is important to examine the ability of parents in mobilizing their resources. Minister Chung says that parents have been influential in education policy-making,

Due to populist appeal from 1984-1987, the parents got an upper hand over our Ministry and organized communities and District Councils to demand we build more schools, and we responded and built more schools, due to populist pressure.

One parent interviewed in 1991, Jeffret Muzira, suggested that Parliamentarians can be a powerful resource for parents who are disgruntled with education policy. PTA member Muzira illustrates the point by citing an example of the Harare City Council which took \$10 per term levy from parents under the pretext that it would be used for textbooks, but in 1991 no new textbooks had been bought.

So, PTA members wrote to their member of Parliament to complain about the Council not using the money for school, specifically for the textbooks. Muzira felt that the member of Parliament would help because politicians wanted to help the people who elected them--parents in this case. As of 1991, the PTA had consulted the Parliamentarian and the result is unknown.

What resources do students have in influencing education policy? According to open-ended responses from the student survey, students do not have much influence in education policies or many resources to mobilize their concerns to government. Students suggested that the government officials visit their schools more often and cooperate more with their school representatives.

Of those students that made additional comments on the survey, 10% indicated that they do not think that government considers their needs when deciding education policy. Instead, students think that the government "Does not care about what students have to say" as expressed by one student surveyed. One student indicated that he wished the government would send officials to schools so that students could air their own views. Many students expressed their wishes that the survey used in this study and its responses are read by the government. They want more surveys, conducted by government, to express their concerns. The next sub-section of this chapter will examine how Open

Education Policy communities handle outside influence in order to incorporate societal needs into policy.

Degree of Openness

An important aspect of the policy communities approach is to determine to what degree the policy community is open to outside influence in order to ultimately identify how exclusive or inclusive the policy community is. In order to measure the degree of openness, I asked the students, "Do people in your community have much impact on influencing government education policy?" Twenty-five percent of the students said the community has a lot of influence in determining government policy while an equal percentage said that the community had no influence in determining policy. Most students did not know--37.6%. However, 11.9% said that the community has some influence.

Of those that said their community has a lot of influence, 41.3% said parents (and PTA's) are the most influential members of their community. Fourteen percent said headmasters were the most influential members. The next most important members cited included, in ranking order: Council members, teachers, and Chiefs. It was found that 50.3% of the students said Community members speak to the Minister of Education while only 19% said Community Members speak to Parliament. This confirms the importance of parents and headmasters as important community actors.

Teachers were asked the same question as students: "Do people in your community have much impact on influencing government education policy?" Interestingly, a higher percentage of students than teachers believe that people in their community have influence in determining government policy. Only 8% of the teachers (as compared to 25% of the students) believe that members of their community have a lot of influence in determining government education policy. In terms of believing that members of their community have some influence, the teachers and students agreed (12% of each). A large number of teachers (44.4%) said that the community has no influence in determining policy while only 25% of the students said this, and the remaining 33% did not know (37.6% of the students did not know).

Table 3-6.
Comparison Between Students and Teachers on Community Involvement in Education Policy

Amount of Influence That Community Actors Have in Education Policy	Students' Perceptions	Teachers' Perceptions
A lot	25.0%	8.1%
Some	11.9%	12.1%
No influence	25.5%	44.4%
Do not know	37.6%	33.3%

What could explain the difference in perception between students and teachers in regard to community involvement in education? One explanation may be that students may

perceive more community involvement because they see the involvement of their parents in education issues; whereas, the teachers may not witness the same extent of parental involvement. Teachers do suggest that parents and the PTA are the most active members of their community in improving education, as do the students. Another explanation may be that teachers are more adept at discriminating ceremonial acts versus substantial influence by community actors in determining policy.

Students were asked, "Do you think that when the central government decides education policy they consider needs of students, teachers and societal groups enough?" This question was asked in order to determine the degree of openness that students perceived in the education policy process. The most popular response (of 45.3% of the students) was "yes" the central government considers needs of students, teachers, and societal groups enough. However, as shown on Table 3-7, 36.2% said only sometimes, and 17.6% of the students did not think the central government considered their needs.

As another indicator of the degree of openness, the headmasters were asked, "How education policy is made in Zimbabwe and societal input on teacher training, textbook, and library materials and university policy?" A headmaster said that policy is debated and then passed in Parliament.

Table 3-7.

Students' and Teachers' Perceptions of Whether the Central Government Considers the Needs of Students, Teachers, and Societal Groups When Deciding Education Policy

Does the Central Government Consider Students', Teachers', and Societal Needs When Deciding Education Policy?	Teachers' Perceptions	Students' Perceptions
Yes	20.2%	45.3%
Sometimes	53.2%	36.2%
No	26.6%	17.6%

It is then sent down in circulars by the permanent secretary for implementation. This seems to indicate that societal actors are not very influential in policy-making communities.

Headmasters indicated that policy is heavily influenced by politics. For example, one headmaster noted that education policy is designed by politicians. Another concurred; "My own interpretation is that education policy in Zimbabwe is a political item considered by cabinet and publicly pronounced by the Minister of Education and the Secretaries." There is very little consultation with those in the trenches, and usually, if they are consulted, another headmaster mentioned, their views are ignored.

Other headmasters described how education policy is made. One headmaster said Parliament originates education policy through the Minister of Education. This comes down to the grassroots through the secretary, or via the regional

director, and then gets dispersed to the education officer, headmasters, teachers, and the people. Therefore, societal actors are not initially involved in helping to formulate policy. Some headmasters have even contended that all policy is made by government. A headmaster said that very little policy is made by society; "Policy is a domain of those who rule/govern." The general impression of many headmasters surveyed was that education policy in Zimbabwe was made by the Central Government and then given to implementors.

Some headmasters however, were willing to acknowledge a role for society in formulating education policy. One headmaster said education policy is centralized; yet, there is a lot of provision for private education. Another headmaster suggested in what case societal input is the strongest,

Societal input is in the form of Parents-Teachers Associations (PTA) and School Advisory Councils and sometimes Boards of Governors. These organizations work hand in hand with school administrators and government on expansion and equipping schools, particularly the newly established ones.

One headmaster says that since independence in 1980, policy is being decentralized and teachers now have a say in policy.

A few headmasters mentioned some good points about education policy in Zimbabwe. A headmaster suggested that societal players were involved in the running of the school. He said, "Involving the society in the running of the school

is a noble idea because the parent has direct access and involvement in the education of his/her child plus the improvement of education in the country. He (the parent) builds pride in this." Central control and limited openness to society in decision-making had some positive effects according to a few headmasters. One said, "The whole country is on the same note, they are doing the same thing." An example, is that the whole nation employs the same syllabi. Another headmaster commented that decisions are centrally made and then passed down to everybody. Still another headmaster suggested that central control allowed the Ministry to control the quality of education. Therefore, a few headmasters thought that centralization and standardization would benefit the country.

Degree of Consultation

Is there high, medium, little, or no degree of consultation between government and society in creating education policy? How much discussion, communication, and deliberation occur between government and society? In order to answer these questions I asked headmasters, "How much communication do you have with central and local government officials and are you listened to?" Their answers shed some light on the overall degree of consultation that societal actors perceive in the education policy-making process.

In response, one headmaster said that the government communicates through circulars, letters, meetings, and workshops. A headmaster at a government-run school in Harare provided a specific answer, saying that communication results from various workshops, the Ministry of Education school syllabus, and once a year individual inspections. Also, in this case, the District Council or regional office visits the school periodically.

While two headmasters suggested that there is very little communication and they are not listened to much, another two headmasters said there was reasonable communication and they are listened to. Clearly, there is a difference in how much communication the schools have with government, and this largely depends on the type of school it is. For instance, headmasters at company or District Council schools, overall, report less communication with government than schools which are government run. For instance, a headmaster from a rural District Council school said he follows protocol, yet there is minimal communication. A headmaster from a company-run school said there is minimal communication and that he/she is rarely listened to.

The schools that report the most communication with the government tend to be government schools which report at least a fair degree of communication, such as former A and B like Goromonzi, Fletcher, Girls High School, and Ellis

Robins. Private high quality schools, report a mixed degree of communication, one-half report good communication while the other half report very little to no communication. For instance, the headmaster of one high quality private school (with high O level pass rates) said that communication between the government and the school is frequent and the government is receptive to the school's needs. Perhaps the private schools that have good communication with the government do because they are high quality schools and the headmasters have served for an extended period of time in which they can establish relationships with government officials.

A headmaster from a high quality government school suggested that communication was fair between government and society because of proper protocol. Another headmaster at a high-quality private school said he has frequent contact with government and his views are considered.

It appears that headmasters from township schools have mixed views about their communication with government, one-half report fair to good communication, while one-half report poor communication between them and government. A headmaster from a high-density suburb in a township is dissatisfied with headmaster-Ministry relations. He says, "I go to them, we are told what to do, (through) circulars; not much communication, (you are) lucky if you meet three or four times a month" with people that matter.

A headmaster of a high-density suburb school said he communicates with government whenever it is necessary, but only through the stipulated channels, and he thinks he is listened to sometimes. It is interesting to note that the younger headmasters appear to be more dissatisfied with relations with government than the older headmasters. Perhaps this is because the older ones have established long-term professional, and/or personal relations with government officials that make communication easier.

One headmaster of a high-density suburban school says he has regular communication with both the central and local government, and he says the government does listen to the needs of the school. Another headmaster at a high-density suburb school said he has very little contact with the government except via NASH. A headmaster who has long-term experience as headmaster in a city says that he has considerable communication with central and local government officials and they listen "to a degree"--probably because he is at a good government school in a city and because he has an established relationship with government officials. A relatively new headmaster at a government school says that there is one-sided communication from the government to him. One District Council headmaster said he has frequent communication with government and he believes he receives a fair hearing while another District Council school headmaster said there is no communication.

Interviews with government administrators revealed the means of communication they use to assess what local communities educational needs are; how they gathered information on teachers' and students' needs; and what channels of communication they used to consult with teachers, community groups, and students.

Bernard Gatawa, Regional Director for the Ministry of Education in Mashonaland East, when asked about consultation between the Ministry and teachers and headmasters, said that he meets with ZIMTA representatives and NASH representatives at least once per term (personal communication, June 19, 1991). The Ministry also meets regularly with NASH representatives and members at the national NASH meeting. I attended their June 1991 meeting in Mutare, Zimbabwe in order to assess governmental-societal interactions and the degree of consultation that occurred. The following is an example of hostile interaction between government and society.

The NASH meeting offered examples of a little consultation to a medium degree of consultation between Ministry officials and NASH members. At the NASH meeting, Minister Chung infuriated the headmasters by saying that of the \$22 million Zimbabwean dollars that the Ministry of Education had received from the treasury in the budget, only \$15 million was used, and \$9 million was returned to the treasury. A few headmasters told the Minister that they

could have found many uses for the money returned to the treasury. But, Minister Chung did not want to allow much discussion on this matter. So, she said the problem stemmed from the inflexibility of the budget--it does not allow unused allocations in one area to be used in another education area. The headmasters were furious since there was such a need in so many schools for more resources and they let the Minister know that they wanted to be consulted more on such matters.

At the NASH meeting, many headmasters aired their frustrations about the poor management of rural schools. They discussed and consulted with the Minister about how to improve the management of rural schools. They felt that money that was supposed to be used for schools was often used by District Councils for non-educational expenses. Many rural schools suffer from a shortage of textbooks, library materials and double sessioning (two separate school sessions in one day to accommodate all pupils). The money not used on textbooks could be used to solve the other problems, but the budget restricts the allocation of funds for something not already agreed to. The conference was impressive in the sense that the headmasters were very direct and demanding when questioning the Ministry's policy.

A panel at the NASH meeting revealed too little consultation between the Ministry of Education (MOE) officials and the headmasters. This panel involved Ministry

of Education officials from the Harare Branch of Standards Control who discussed "Justification for Staff Development." This panel turned into a bitter exchange in which Headmasters complained that Education Officers only visited schools to criticize and not to assist. The MOE official responded that this issue should be raised to another office within the MOE.

Another panel revealed cooperation and a medium degree of consultation between government and society. The panel entitled "Evaluation of Staff Development" involved Ministry of Education officials from the Midlands province and headmasters. This panel focused on how headmasters should conduct surveys and questionnaires at their own schools to evaluate teachers, textbooks, and curriculum.

Many other concerns were brought up during this meeting. The following headmasters' concerns were discussed by Ministry officials and headmasters: Problems of large schools; need for incentives to teaching personnel; rural transport allowances; need for increase in per capita grants; relevance of Zimbabwe Junior Certificate Examinations (aimed to vocationalize curriculum); high student-teacher ratios, need for simpler math syllabuses; leave conditions; salary issues; deterioration of school buildings; strikes in schools; need for more school libraries (particularly in rural areas); school fees; need for more physics teachers; need for more staff development

for heads; management of school leavers; and representation in professional organizations such as ZIMTA.

Another way to measure the degree of consultation was to ask teachers "On a scale of 1-10 (ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest), how would you rate the central government's efforts to find out what you need as a teacher?" Eighty-three percent rated the efforts 1-5 which represents low to medium satisfaction while only 17% rated the efforts 6-10 which represents medium to high satisfaction. One teacher in a high-density suburb near a major city commented on the problems of communication between teachers and government,

So far it appears to me the communication between Central Government and the teacher is one way--through circulars and copies of syllabi. I think it is time the communication process worked the other way because the teacher in the classroom is aware of the immediate result of the educational policies in the school. The results "O" and "A" etc. are not conclusive as they do not measure the effect of these policies on pupils psychology and social values. These should be included as they contribute in shaping the individual.

I asked teachers if they think central government considers the needs of students, teachers and societal groups enough when deciding education policy and only 20% said yes, while 53% said sometimes and 27% said no. Teachers are clearly dissatisfied with their relationship with government officials.

Teachers surveyed complained about the work of the government and indicated that their relationship with Central Government was problematic. A teacher described the

relationship between government and teachers as "a gap." A teacher in a rural area suggested that the "very cumbersome bureaucracy" should be decentralized. The teacher suggested that the personnel at regional and head offices needed to be more efficient and quicker in processing documents and also in decision-making. The same teacher said the government should reduce the paper work for teachers, such as records of work so that they can concentrate more effort on the pupils directly. Another teacher concurred, citing the need to simplify the paper work. One teacher complained about the Ministry of Education being too top heavy in policy-making. Another teacher commented that there is too much personnel mobility in the MOE's regional and head office and the result is that the offices are manned by inexperienced people.

Teachers also commented on the role of the District Council. One teacher believes that education should be decentralized to the lowest level so that participation of parents and teachers reigns. This teacher commented that the government should let District Councils make policy. In contrast, another teacher was dissatisfied with District Councils and said, "District Councils should be stopped from interfering with (the) development of the school and giving ample authority to schools to run their own affairs." Another teacher thought the Central Government should help District Council schools more; "the Central government

should give a hand in the development of schools in rural areas especially those not under government like the District Council schools." Another teacher stated that, "Education policies should be formulated at (the) grassroots level." Overall teachers preferred decentralized policy-making over centralized policy-making because they would be able to communicate more in policy-making at the local level.

Headmasters commented on what they considered the bad points about Zimbabwean education policy. One of their major problems was the lack of consultation between government and society. One headmaster said that any policy which is not based on consultation with those it affects is bad. Another headmaster said there is not much consultation with society; policy is, "Handed down from top. More consultation (is) needed in (the) future (since) societal input is lacking. Parents are now fairly educated and consultation is essential."

One headmaster said policy is bad because of the lack of consideration for the masses, instead policy is imposed. Another headmaster said the bad aspect of policy is that the society is practically not involved in policy formulation, the involvement is in the implementation stage. A headmaster even said, "under public service, we do not discuss government policy but we implement it whether bad or good." Still another headmaster said the implementors of

policy feel alienated in that they are effecting something not well understood or cherished. Another headmaster said policy is bad because it does not involve those who are in the frontline of the education arena. He suggested that industrialists are not brought into the decision-making process and they should be.

Another headmaster said there is very little discussion between the school administration, the grassroots, and those making policy. But, he suggests that many of those making policy are former teachers which would suggest a sympathetic approach since they were once at schools. The problem that arises is that many policies are out of touch with the realities of day-to-day teaching, particularly in the technical subjects where workshops are often ill-equipped and the materials required for syllabuses are too expensive. The result of a lack of involvement of the people in the decision-making process, according to one headmaster, is very little support for the issues.

Another problem alluded to by a headmaster is that Parliamentarians may not be aware of what exactly is happening in the classroom. So we conclude in this section that many headmasters believe that one of the bad points about education policy is the lack of communication between them, their schools, and government.

Government Responsiveness to Societal Influence During Decision-Making

In the policy communities approach, it is important to examine the interaction among government, society, and state actors in making decisions. So the headmasters were asked, "How involved are government, state, and societal actors in policy-making? One headmaster said that the state, including the government, plays quite a big role; however, members of the society are sometimes consulted. Another headmaster confirmed that the state and government are more involved than society. While in contrast, another headmaster said that pressures from outside the decision-making structures are largely ignored by the government.

Many of the headmasters responded that society is nearly powerless and the state is completely involved in the decision-making process. One headmaster said the state, and the government, is more involved than society. A headmaster suggested that very little consideration is being accorded to societal actors in policy-making, and he offered the following example to support this point "the re-introduction of primary school fees regardless of the poor social backgrounds of many children, contradicting the policy on education for all."

More headmasters suggested that the state and government make all policies. A headmaster said the government makes and controls policy; and headmasters can

only advise the government. Another headmaster agreed that the state and government are the only players in policy-making. According to one headmaster, the state and government are very much involved and that policy evolves from them and is disseminated down to society.

Another headmaster said the state dictates and does not respond to societal pleas. Part of the problem, according to another headmaster, may be that, "In some cases members of the society are incapable of interpreting the enunciated government policy (ies)."

One headmaster said policy is all done by the state and government. A headmaster at a top government school said the "State is 100% involved. Society is 0% involved." Yet the same headmaster suggested that parents are very involved. He said that 98% of parents come to the PTA. This headmaster suggested that he feels he must satisfy the government and yet still satisfy society because he is "caught in between parents (PTA) and officials."

Only one out of 23 headmasters surveyed felt that society is very involved in education decision-making. The headmaster said that parents visit the school every month and they are very involved. This headmaster said there is a two-way communication.

Teachers did not think government was very responsive to listening to teachers' concerns. Teachers were asked, "Do you feel that the Central Government listens to

teachers' concerns when developing education policy? While 47.3% of the teachers responded that government sometimes listens to their concerns, 31.3% said government does not listen, and only 9.8% said that the government does listen. Teachers were also asked, "Do you think that when the Central Government decides education policy they consider needs of students, teachers, and societal groups enough? While 51.3% said sometimes, 25.7% said no, and only 19.5% said yes.

To examine the role of societal influence in decision-making it is important to consider the MOE's view of how education decisions are made. Chung was asked in my interview with her in 1991, "How are education policy decisions made? Are they made mostly in Harare, the regional level, or at the school level? What types of decisions are made at each level and who is involved?" She responded that the head office is very involved in policy and the Cabinet is involved in the bigger issues, structural issues, like who controls schools and school fees (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

Teachers rated Central Government's efforts to find out their needs as low. Eighty-three percent of teachers gave Central Government a low to medium score when asked to rate Central Government's efforts to find out their needs as teachers. Most teachers suggested that a combination of people should decide school policy and 41% suggested the

headmasters should have a leading role to play, followed by teachers, and then parents, and further that Central Government should have a small role to play in deciding school policy.

Students views on who should decide school policy are similar to the teachers views; however, more students than teachers favor the headmaster having the leading role. For those students that want a combination of people to decide school policy, the students favor involving the headmaster, teachers and parents. However, in 1991, according to the teachers surveyed, 68.8% of them believe that people in their community (such as headmasters, teachers and parents) do not have much impact influencing education policy.

Interestingly, when students were asked "on a scale of 1-10 (ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest), how would you rate the government's efforts to improve your school's education?" Fifty-one percent gave a low to medium score (1-5) and 49% gave a medium to high score (5-10) which implies that half of the students feel the government has done a decent job at improving their education. The most often cited example (24.7%) of what government has done to improve students education is the provision of books and limited equipment and exercise books; however, this area is still a great need as expressed by students under preferences. Twenty-one percent of the students express gratitude to government for providing more staff and

teachers; yet, 17.7% of the students said they have nothing to be thankful for. So, overall, teachers in general do not feel government is very responsive to them. Students, however, appeared more satisfied with government's ability to listen to societal needs.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed major findings. First, teachers, headmasters and students feel limited in their ability to influence government policy. However, they feel that NASH, ZIMTA, and the PTA serve as effective societal pressure groups for influencing policy. Their suggestions may be channeled through teacher and headmaster associations and heard by the government. Second, parents, teachers, students, and headmasters have recognized that they can mobilize state actors such as District Councils and Parliamentarians.

The government's main preference and priority for education policy is different from society's. While teachers and students want more textbooks, the government wants to focus on a quality practical education for Zimbabwe (discussed in more detail in Chapter Six). Moreover, while the headmasters, teachers, and students want the government to focus on more and better institution-based teacher training programs the government is willing to focus on distance education teacher training programs (discussed in

more detail in Chapter Seven). Specific examples of policy community types on specific issues will be discussed in the following chapters. The government, students, headmasters, and teachers all feel that more equipment is needed for the schools and that library facilities are also needed. Therefore, there are some convergent preferences between society and government, although there are significant divergent preferences.

Overall, it appears that societal groups do not think the decision-making process is as open and democratic as they would like. It appears they feel their main roles have been relegated to implementors and they want more say in formulation of policy instead of only a role in implementation. Ostensibly, the PTA, NASH, and ZIMTA are more influential in reacting to bad policies than in formulating policies.

This chapter has served as an introduction to general views of societal, governmental, and state actors' about the education policy-making process. The needs and preferences of actors were presented as well as their views on the amount of openness and consultation that occurs in policy-making. Now that the general education policy process has been examined it is necessary to examine specific cases of education policy-making in the next four chapters. This chapter has identified some divergent interests of government and society that will be examined more closely in

the following few chapters. The next chapter, however, will examine a case of extreme hostility between government and society--the case of university policy.

CHAPTER 4
CLOSED GOVERNMENT POLICY COMMUNITY:
THE CASE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION POLICY

Introduction to University Education Policy

In the previous chapter, general views about the role of government, state, and societal actors in the education policy process were examined. This chapter will examine a specific case--university policy--in order to assess how these actors relate to each other in making policy. The type of policy-making model used to formulate university education policy from 1988 to present is the Closed Government Policy Community. This community is a decision-making group made up of select governmental actors who deliberately exclude societal actors from a role in decision-making.

Universities around the world are respected for being relatively autonomous institutions in which many ideas can be freely expressed. Society generally expects universities to be a bastion for free speech and free assembly. In post-colonial Africa, universities have performed many major functions. First, universities in Africa, after independence, were to become institutions for all the nation and not just for racial minorities. To further this goal,

Africanization of the student body and faculty accelerated. Second, according to Political Scientist Ali Mazrui, university education became a major factor in the redefinition of status and gradation in modern African societies (Mazrui, 1990, p. 7-8). Third, universities had an important role to play in national development. As a result, the Government insisted that universities train their people to further national political goals.

Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, believes that the university has a dual role, "One is to maintain complete objectivity in the search for truth and the second is the commitment to the development of society and the desire to serve" (cited in Zvobgo, 1986, p. 133-134). Nyerere suggested the following at the 1972 Accra Workshop of the Association of African Universities:

The University in Africa could not in the name of academic freedom afford to be indifferent to the prevailing poverty and squalor which would signify its commitment, not just to knowledge for its own sake but to the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of and for the amelioration of the conditions of the common man and woman in Africa (Zvobgo, 1986, p. 134).

But, a problem arises when students and academics criticize the government for not being concerned enough with the plight of the common person in Africa. In this situation, students and teachers, in the name of academic freedom, are likely to challenge the government's policy openly, as is the case in Zimbabwe. The typical response by the government, which largely finances the university, has been

to act in a paternalistic manner and to demand that the university not criticize the government if it wants continued financial support from the government. The next section will discuss the theoretical literature that is relevant to this issue of government control and autonomy of the university.

Theoretical Perspective on University Autonomy

The theoretical literature on university autonomy is limited because it focuses almost exclusively on state autonomy, rather than government autonomy. As suggested in Chapter One, we must refine this rather crude conceptualization, especially recognizing the distinction between government and state.

Skocpol's concept of state autonomy, if applied to university policy, would offer a limited and inaccurate view of policy-making. If one were to use only Skocpol's state autonomy concept to understand university policy in Zimbabwe, then one would only be able to say that because university policy is not reflective of societal interests (as represented by the Association of University Teachers--AUT and the Student Representative Council--SRC), then the state is autonomous. But, we need to look closer at the dynamic, "gray area" where some state actors (Parliament) and some societal actors (AUT and SRC) actually try to become members of the policy community in order to render a

decision. The policy community model allows us to see that the struggle between actors in the decision-making process may lead to different types of patterns: (1) Authoritarian, (2) Consensus, and (3) Pluralistic.

Daniel Levy, a Latin Americanist Political Scientist, has looked at the issue of autonomy and university governance in Mexico (1980). The issues he raises are relevant to this study. Levy acknowledges that a major weakness of the concept of autonomy is that it is confused with independence,

While I advocate an institutional approach, I believe that it must be based on a less demanding concept than independence. The great attraction of a definition based on independence would appear to be its purity. But, there are two principal problems with such definition. The first is that there really is no purely autonomous or independent university and the second is that independence does not even serve as an appropriate ideal type by which to gauge degrees of autonomy (Levy, 1980, p. 6).

Levy correctly contends that universities are not purely autonomous. He suggests that another concept be found to study universities. The notion of interdependence and interaction between state, societal, and governmental actors in a policy community can move us toward a more realistic assessment of university policy.

Levy's ability to break down the concept of autonomy to specifics is helpful. He defines university autonomy as university control over these components:

- Appointive
 - hiring, promotion, and dismissal of professors

- selection and dismissal of deans, rectors, and other administrative personnel
- terms of employment
- Academic
 - access (admission) to the university
 - career selection
 - curriculum offerings and course instruction
 - degree requirements and authorization
 - academic freedom
- Financial
 - determination of who pays
 - funding level
 - funding criteria
 - preparation and allocation of university budget
 - accountability

In this study of the University of Zimbabwe, the above components--appointive, academic, and financial--will be used to discuss policy-making in this area. Moreover, "scheduling," not discussed by Levy, will be introduced.

Scheduling refers to:

- determination of school calendar
- decision on closing and opening of university

The concern in Levy's investigation is with who decides. As Levy says, "to the degree that it (the university) decides for itself, the university is autonomous. To the degree that external actors decide, the university is not autonomous" (Levy, 1980, p. 70). But, instead of assuming, as Levy does, that either external actors or university actors decide, my interest is to examine how the interaction among various actors, lead to particular types of policy communities. In this chapter, the primary focus will be the University of Zimbabwe, a public institution.

It is important to consider though that different levels of public education can be expected to have differing types of government-societal relationships. Primary and secondary schools also have a different relationship with government than universities do. The degree to which government can act autonomously varies. For example, a university is different from secondary, much less primary schools, not only because it places a higher value on the mind, but also because its significance to society, as a whole, is greater. Primary and secondary schools must follow a structured government approved curriculum; whereas, universities have more academic freedom. Therefore, students and teachers at a university expect more academic freedom than they would at a secondary or primary institution. As a result, an intervention in the affairs of the university is potentially much more controversial and costly--than one targeted at a secondary school.

Another work that informs this discussion of university policy is that of Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz. They suggest that public officials can forestall the transformation of convergent preferences into divergent ones by discouraging public consideration and keeping what they consider "non-issues" off the public agenda. They accomplish this by labelling these issues either extremist or irresponsible (Nordlinger, 1981, p. 89). The government considered the concerns about government control over

university policy raised by parliamentarians, students, and teachers to be "non-issues." Government ministers even went so far as to accuse student protesters of being "South African agents." This angered the opposition even more. The government reacted by closing the lines of communication with society. It did not listen to anyone outside its own ranks. It is important to consider next the development of government-societal rifts at the University and to do this we need to consider the origins of the University.

The Origin of the University of Zimbabwe and the
Development of Government-Societal Conflicts

The establishment of a university in Rhodesia was first considered in the early 1940's, as an alternative to South African universities. After World War II, Manfred Hodson, a Member of Parliament, established a group called "Friends of the University of Rhodesia" (later the "Rhodesia University Association"). Shortly thereafter, the Legislative Assembly passed Hodson's resolution on the creation of a university to serve Rhodesians.

The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (UCRN) was incorporated by Royal Charter on February 11, 1955 as the only multiracial institution in Rhodesia. The UCRN, like other universities recently established in Anglophone Africa, such as Ibadan and Makerere, was constituted as an integral part of the University of London. With the exception of the Faculty of Medicine, which was affiliated

with the University of Birmingham, students at the university were registered and prepared for London degrees, although certain course modifications were effected to suit African conditions and needs. The University College's formal teaching began in March 1957. The Faculty of Arts was first created. It comprised the following departments: English, History, African Studies, and Economics.

The first major conflict between societal actors (teachers and students) and government occurred in the mid 1960's. On November 11, 1965, Ian Smith declared unilateral independence from Britain. In July 1966, nine lecturers and nine students were arrested and expelled from the country because they demonstrated their intense dislike of racial policies of the government. Two expatriate protesters, economist Giovanni Arrighi and anthropologist Jaap van Velsen, had earlier protested the presence of a large number of police on campus as an infringement of the autonomy of the University College. By July 1966, the situation on campus had escalated as suggested by Leonard Thompson and Robert Birley,

Principals have called in the police to restore order on the campus; numerous students and members of the faculty have been arrested, imprisoned, and expelled from the country. Claims for university autonomy and academic freedom couched in classical British terms have been countered by vehement local demands for greater control of the university in the interests of law, order, and national security" (Thompson, 1977, p. 286 and refer to Birley, 1966).

University students and staff wanted academic freedom but the Rhodesian Front government wanted University obedience. Later that year, most of the social science teaching staff left the country because of their anger at the Rhodesian Front government and because international sanctions were applied against Rhodesia.

In the 1970's, there was an increasing polarization in Rhodesian society which was reflected in the university (Thompson, 1977, p. 286). Polarization was caused by two factors. First, there was a growing isolation of the white community after the 1970 Rhodesian Front sweep of the European constituencies in a national election and again in 1973 (Thompson, 1977, p. 286). Second, in 1971, the UCRN became the University of Rhodesia, terminating its relations with the Universities of London and Birmingham. The result was that government control over UCRN grew, further lowering the morale of both students and faculty. "The university falls far short of being integrated into society or providing appropriate services for the majority of the populations," wrote Thompson (1977, p. 286).

Many Africans, having suffered from inadequate primary and secondary education, did not pass the minimum qualifications for entering the university and many of those who graduated from the university by May 1976 had not been able to obtain employment that was commensurate with their qualifications (Thompson, 1977, p. 286 and Craig, 1976).

After the end of the civil war in 1979, Zimbabweans hoped that morale and race relations at the University would improve, and they did for approximately six years.

A Period of Relative Calm in Societal-Governmental Relations in University Policy: 1980-1986

The initial seven years after independence (1980-1986) can be described as a honeymoon period in government-society relations. During this period, relations were quite good and relatively peaceful. The interaction between government, society, and state actors was by and large cooperative, though typically closed. There was no crisis and it was possible for every actor to be relatively tolerant of the others. Officials from the Ministry of Higher Education, societal interest groups, the University Association of University Teachers (AUT), and members of the University Senate cooperated with each other in making university policy. This model of policy-making represents a stable, corporatist, and cooperative relationship.

With independence in 1980, the University of Rhodesia had become the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). After independence, two major changes occurred. The first was the massive increase of student enrollment at the University; the second was a process of Africanization of faculty. In 1980, there were 2,200 students enrolled at UZ. Only a decade later the enrollment had tripled to 9,017. The number today is around 10,000. This expansion was the

result of societal pressure to increase the seats available in the University. This was understandable because prior to independence entry to the university had been restricted to only a small percentage of the population. Although a small minority in Africa, whites dominated the student body at UCRN. With independence, Africans expected that higher education would be made more accessible than it previously was (Zvobgo, 1986, p. 129).

The number of black Zimbabwean staff has increased steadily since independence due to an ambitious staff development program, partially supported by the Ford Foundation. In 1983, the staff members at the University were predominantly white; there were 178 white staff, 99 black staff, and 83 expatriates. However, in 1987, this pattern had changed. One hundred and eighty seven of all faculty members were black, 142 white, and 136 expatriates. As of December 1990, 68.7% of the social scientists at the University of Zimbabwe were Zimbabwean and 8.4% were non-Zimbabwean. These changes in Africanization can be attributed to staff development efforts and the government's policy to make the University better represent the country's different ethnic groups.

It is important now to turn our attention to the events that led to the closing of the policy community after this initial 'honeymoon' period. What was it that turned the cooperative community into the Closed Government Policy

Community? The major factors in the post-1986 period that explain this are: (1) student protests of 1988, 1989, and 1992, (2) new government imposed University Bills, and (3) parliamentary attempts that failed due to government intimidation. Before discussing these factors, however, a brief reference to the 1982 University Act is necessary.

The University of Zimbabwe Act of 1982

The University of Zimbabwe Act of 1982 is important in understanding government-university relations in Zimbabwe. The act was the first step in politicizing the role of the Chancellor of the University. It included a section which made the State President the Chancellor of the University, but this did not actually go into effect until 1987. Therefore, the Presidency remained a ceremonial office and this provision posed no real threat to university governance (Cheater, 1991, p. 2). This contributed to the fact that the period between 1982 and 1987 was relatively peaceful on campus. In 1987 however, the presidency had become executive with Mugabe himself now serving as Chancellor. This might not have been such a controversial matter had an incident in 1982 not taken place.

That same year Prime Minister Mugabe made a statement in which he denounced corruption in public life. In reaction, students demonstrated in downtown Harare in support of his denunciation. The students were proud that

their leader took a public stance against corruption, and accordingly, they wanted to see Mugabe in order to congratulate him on his stance. Mugabe, however, refused to see the students or to receive their statement of support, and according to Zimbabwean sociologist Angela Cheater, "In that refusal was sown the seeds of the later relationship between the future head of state and students at the University of Zimbabwe" (Cheater, 1991, p. 5).

An Important Year in Tracing the Closure of the Policy Community to Societal Involvement: 1987

With the State Presidency being an executive office "it was patently obvious that, in any conflict of interest between the Chancellorship and Presidency, the political office would dominate. And, as shown later, the deterioration in relations between the university (especially students) and the government began precisely in 1987" (Cheater, 1991, p. 2). Relations having been sour yet cooperative until then, deteriorated as it became clear that the university was going to be under heavier pressure from government. More and more, government officials began to confine policy consultations to themselves. The result was a growing alienation between government and university staff and students.

The latter were rightfully scared that the President and his Ministers would exert more control over the Council and Senate. Their prediction became reality. Not only did

the President of Zimbabwe become Chancellor, but he also was given authority to appoint the Vice Chancellor. Thus, the authority previously held by the University Council made up of members mostly recommended by the University Senate, and the Senate made up largely of academics, was relegated to the government.

In 1982, however, the Act mandated that the Council's appointment of the Vice-Chancellor and all Pro-Vice Chancellors were to be subject to ministerial approval (Cheater, 1991, p. 2) which angered some members of the university community. Previously the University Council had selected the Vice Chancellor without significant government interference. In 1987, after Prime Minister Mugabe also became the executive State President, his influence in the ministerial decisions increased and according to Cheater, around this time some violence and incidents of "indecent behavior" occurred:

It seemed to have been the work of a few badly demeaned and drunk students, and continued in the harassment of schoolgirls at the Open Days later that year, eliciting both public and university condemnation of 'the hooligan element' in the student body. Although some offenders were identified, the University found it impossible to take disciplinary action against them, because witnesses refused to testify against them at disciplinary hearings (Cheater, 1991, p. 5).

This became an excuse for Government to further increase its control of the University. As will be discussed later, in 1990, the government passed a bill that authorized the Vice Chancellor to be the leading disciplinarian on campus.

Government-Societal Relations at the University of
Zimbabwe--1988-present: An Example of a
Closed Government Policy Community

A Closed Government Policy Community is represented by a high degree of exclusivity in that societal actors are excluded from input into the university policy community. This approach is characteristic of a policy decision-making group made up of select governmental actors who exclude societal actors from a role in decision-making. In this community, consultation is limited to government actors. Yet, societal actors still mobilize their resources to try to influence policy. It is important to consider the different resources and preferences of societal and governmental actors on university policy.

Divergent Preferences and Mobilization of Resources

Since 1988, students and teachers at the University of Zimbabwe have held different views from those of the government on the following issues: government corruption, academic freedom, adequacy of student grants, and university decision-making. The model of governmental responsiveness confirms that societal actors and governmental actors have different preferences and each mobilize their own resources. Students and teachers have turned to demonstrations to express their disapproval of government policy.

The example of university policy confirms hypothesis one which states that policy issues that do not require

extended capabilities beyond the government and in which the nature of the political good provides a decisive advantage to government results in governmental control of the policy process. University policy does not require capabilities beyond the government because the government has created power structures in which government representatives control the policy-making process. Further, the nature of the political good being government property and financial support for the university and students' gives the government a decisive advantage over society. The government has sent riot troops to campus, it has expelled students, reduced student grants, banned student organizations, and closed the university as discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

University policy confirms hypothesis number three. The government is concerned about its political survival and legitimacy which it feels university students and faculty have challenged; therefore, the government excludes opposition societal actors from the policy process. The government was very intent on controlling the university because a large amount of opposition to the government was emerging from the university. Some university students and faculty were loudly criticizing government policy and some even questioned the government's legitimacy. The societal groups, while an active opposition to the government, were weak relative to the government. The government actors were

able to control the policy process and achieve their goals because the government mobilized stronger resources than the societal groups.

The key government actors examined in this study are the Minister of Higher Education and the President of Zimbabwe. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe served as a dual representative of the government and of the university community. As a result, he finds himself in an ambiguous and tense position in which he must decide whether to stay or not to stay in the Closed Government Policy Community.

The key non-governmental state actors in this case study are Parliamentarians. They do potentially find themselves divided in their loyalty. Some Parliamentarians argue on behalf of their constituents, the teachers and students. Other Parliamentarians vote in favor of the government's position. As we will see below, at least one Member of Parliament was outright ostracized from the policy community because he disagreed too fervently with the government.

Two major societal groups spoke out against government's university policy: students (represented largely by the Student Representative Council-SRC) and teachers (Association of University Teachers-AUT). None of these groups was consulted in the policy-making process.

In 1988, relations between the government and University of Zimbabwe students were poor. In March 1988, the Students' Representative Council (SRC) issued a Nine-Point Ultimatum which included student complaints about the inadequacy of student grants received from government (Cheater, 1991, p. 5). In September 1988, the police restricted to campus an anti-corruption demonstration by the students which had been planned for downtown. The Police responded violently and a large number of students were injured (Cheater, 1991, p. 6). At the end of two days, students calmed down and police were removed. An expatriate lecturer, whose public criticisms of the government were unwelcome by the government, was deported. He was accused of instigating the student unrest and his residence permit was withdrawn.

Another societal actor accused of instigating student unrest was Edgar Tekere of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), a leading opposition party. Tensions between students and the government increased after the creation of ZUM in 1988. Students and Tekere disapproved of the discrepancy between official rhetoric and practice. University of Zimbabwe teacher Luke Mhlaba observes, "While the ruling party's leadership preached egalitarian social(ist) policies, some of the top brass acquired properties apparently inconsistent with such policies" (Mhlaba, 1989).

It is important to understand the events that led to the creation of ZUM because these same events later led to strong student protests against the government. Tekere, a longtime party official of ZANU(PF), in 1988, became vocal about "corruption within the governing hierarchy" and according to Political Scientist Christine Sylvester, he insinuated "that Mugabe was protecting 'insider' offenders" (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86).

Tekere was accusing members of his own party of corruption and this angered other ZANU(PF) officials. As a result, Tekere was removed from his post as provincial head of ZANU(PF) in Manicaland (eastern region of Zimbabwe), Sylvester adds. Accordingly, some university students protested on his behalf (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86). By 1989, Mugabe faced a crisis in public confidence, due to accusations of corruption in his party. He was forced to appoint a special commission to look into accusations that members of his party were involved in illegal activities involving the sale of cars from a car assembly plant called Willowvale. Mugabe appointed Judge Wilson Sandura to look into the matter and the Sandura Commission was formed (Mhlaba, 1989).

Mugabe was initially praised for setting up a commission of inquiry into a corruption scandal involving his top officials but this was short-lived. Five ministers and a provincial governor were charged with profiteering

from the resale of locally assembled vehicles acquired through political influence (Holman, 1989, p. III), and Mugabe accepted resignations from five leading ZANU(PF) officials who had been found guilty. One of those found guilty, Maurice Nyagumbo, committed suicide, because of humiliation.

The way Mugabe proceeded in handling allegations of government corruption after Nyagumbo's death resulted in a deterioration in relations between government and students. In reaction to the death, Mugabe pardoned all the convicted Willowgate ministers; thus, they did not have to serve prison sentences (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86). They did, however, have to pay fines and resign from Parliament (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86). According to Sylvester, these pardons were very unpopular with the public. Some even suggested that Mugabe, by significantly reducing the penalties, was trying to prevent the convicted from disclosing more corruption in high places (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86).

Sylvester suggests that the "depth of the crisis became clear when Tekere founded a new political party--the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM)--to contest Nyagumbo's vacated seat" (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86). Further, she suggested that although the government tried to prevent Tekere's party from holding campaign rallies, ZUM still won one-third of the by-election votes in its contest (Sylvester, 1991, p. 86-87).

The pardons not only angered Tekere but they also incensed many University of Zimbabwe teachers and students because to them the pardons were an example of the Government acting as a judge. Mugabe's pardon of a top official, Dr. Frederick Shava, former Minister of State for Political Affairs, convicted of perjury and insubordination, especially angered students.

In July 1989, Tekere spoke at the University of Zimbabwe. He urged students to "get out there and bury the corpse of this rotten government" (Sylvester, 1991, p. 87). The speech ended prematurely when the riot police arrived on campus. They were called to campus by the government. Some government officials perceived that ZUM was receiving moral and intellectual support from many students on campus and this angered them. SRC president, Arthur Mutambara, however, made it clear that there was no relationship between the SRC and ZUM. What the students wanted from the government in 1989 was discussed by Mutambara,

We want dialogue, and we want socialism. We want the disinformation campaign against us called off. FOCUS (the SRC newssheet) was banned last year by Government through the UZ administration, and we want it back. This is our main, immediate demand. We have no way of expressing ourselves at the moment. The Herald is a partisan paper. It is trying to portray students as moribund. . . . We are prepared to have dialogue with the Government, but there is a pre-condition, that we do not compromise our principles on such issues as corruption and democracy. . . . In a dialogue with Government, we would, say, give our arguments against the investment code, and they also would present their arguments. They might even convince us" ("Threat to Shut," 1989).

Clearly, the students were demanding freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly. They were, for example, demanding the ability to write freely in their own newssheet. They specifically wanted to be able to express their condemnation of corruption in written form. They hoped for a society in which dialogue and democracy were permitted. In short, they wanted an open policy environment in which society, state, and government actors were all able to freely participate in the decision-making process.

In 1989, the SRC claimed to be an organized forum that represented the worker and the peasant. Mutambara made the concerns of the SRC leadership known to government when he said,

We know how our parents are suffering, and we have a moral obligation to present a forum for this poorer section of the populations. The only difference between us is that we have an organized forum to present problems affecting us, and they (parents-peasants and workers) don't. ("Threat to Shut," 1989).

Thereafter, the SRC viewed itself as an organized interest group for the people.

Both the AUT and the SRC claimed that the Government did not respect freedom of speech and thought. On August 9, 1989, Senior Minister Joshua Nkomo visited the campus to address students. Both groups felt that Nkomo was not adequately answering their questions so they got angry. Some people started heckling Nkomo. Chung (Minister of Higher Education), later publicly labelled the hecklers

"rubbish", "hooligans" and drunkards." As a result, Chung considered closing the University in order to "weed out the bad elements" ("Threat to Shut," 1989).

The SRC planned a commemoration of its 1988 anti-corruption demonstrations on September 29, 1989, and because it was a campus function, in which the venue was allocated by the university administration, the students did not apply for external government permission to hold it. Yet, the police forbade it calling it a 'political' meeting. Riot police were sent yet another time to make sure no meeting was held. The Great Hall, site of the event, was sealed off by police, and students were teargassed. In reaction to this government intrusion, the SRC, on October 2, issued a two-page document entitled "In Defence of Academic Freedom" which referred to the government as 'the ruling dogs of imperialism'. It continued:

Comrades, this is state terrorism at its worst! Yes we did not apply for permission and we will never apply for permission from anyone in this country to hold a seminar at this university . . . the institution of government has thus been rendered completely disreputable and hence the incumbents have completely lost legitimacy (Cheater, 1991, p. 7).

According to Zimbabwean newspapers, the President's reaction to the situation was twofold. First, he argued that the government cannot continue to spend huge sums of money to promote what he called, "student thugs" (Cheater, 1991, p. 7). The government began to view the SRC as if it was a political party opposed to the government even though

it was a council representing student concerns. Secondly, he accused some lecturers in the AUT of misleading the students. Teachers and students were angered. Yet, the government decided to arrest both the SRC president and the Secretary-General. The following morning the student body boycotted classes and stoned the administration building in reaction to the SRC arrests.

The Government threatened to charge detained students with sedition. In retaliation, the Vice Chancellor's government issued Mercedes Benz was set on fire. Riot police once again returned and teargassed the students. The government-controlled media presented this as a 'student riot.' However, many students and teachers viewed it as police brutalization. The University was closed after the Vice Chancellor's pleas to the students and the police to calm down did not bring peace.

Exclusive Decision-Making Under a Crisis Situation: The Case of the Closure of the University of Zimbabwe

Who made this decision to close the University?
According to Cheater the University was closed on October 4, 1989 by Vice Chancellor Walter Kamba and the decision was ratified by the Council. However, many believe that the decision was made by the ruling government party. According to Cheater,

Many members of the university community . . . were convinced that the decision was taken by the ruling party's emergency Politburo meeting, held on the

afternoon of 3 October, 1989. The ruling party was openly incensed at the document 'In Defence of Academic Freedom' issued the previous day (Cheater, 1991, p. 8).

The government felt that the students had questioned its legitimacy, particularly in the SRC report entitled 'In Defence of Academic Freedom' in which students called the government the "ruling dogs of imperialism" and called the police force, "state terrorism at its worst" (Mutambara, 1989, pp. 1-2). The government felt its political stability was threatened by these statements.

This chapter confirms hypothesis three, which was introduced in Chapter One, and states that in crisis situations, decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control. In this case, decisions derive from the government's concern about the stability or survival of the regime in power and its perceived legitimacy by the people. The preceding case of university decision-making has all the elements of a crisis situation including high stakes, high government involvement (the President and Minister of Higher Education were very involved), and concern about stability.

The government accurately perceived the hostilities between students and the government to be of crisis proportions. This chapter provides some evidence that in crisis situations where the government feels that its very legitimacy is threatened it reacts in an authoritarian

manner and closes off dialogue with state and societal actors who disagree with the government.

Propelled by the top echelon of the ruling party, government officials were moving in a direction of greater exclusivity. Sensing the crisis, government actors became increasingly impatient with societal actors. The scope for dialogue and consultation with teachers and students was virtually eliminated. This arbitrariness notwithstanding, government could not afford to leave the university closed for long. The political costs of doing this, the government realized, were going to be too high. The University remained closed for three weeks, after which students had to sign what the staff called 'blood chits'. Only then could they return to finish teaching and to hold year-end examinations (Cheater, 1991, p. 8).

The Strong Government Role in the University After the Closing of the University in 1989

After the university reopened, students made it clear what they wanted from Government. But, the government made it clear that it was not going to compromise. In 1990, Mutambara still the President of the University of Zimbabwe Student Representative Council (SRC), suggested that the campus problems could be reduced if a few issues were resolved with the Government. He said that the

administration was full of bureaucrats and technocrats who are authoritative, generally reactionary and insensitive and unresponsive to students' demands and

needs. . . We call on the administration to revamp the level of efficiency and employ some degree of management by objectives rather than by crises ("No Retreat, No Surrender," 1990).

In 1990, the government in a closed fashion took over complete control in deciding who to appoint as vice-chancellor. The new Minister of Higher Education, David Karimanzira, said in parliamentary debates on the 1990 University of Zimbabwe (UZ) amendment bill to the University Act of 1982, that the purpose of the Act was to make the Vice-Chancellor accountable for what happens at the University (Cheater, 1991, p. 3). The Act was obviously in reaction to teachers' and students' demands and protests. The Vice Chancellor was to be appointed, not by the Council with ministerial approval as was discussed earlier but "directly by the Chancellor after consultation with the Minister and the Council" (Cheater, 1991, p. 2). Further, the Vice Chancellor was to become chief disciplinary officer. These examples of increasing government control of a central administrative figure in university policy highly parallel the increasing government control of local chiefs during the colonial administration discussed in Chapter Two.

Beyond greater government control in the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, the government also increased its control of the important University Council, which had for a long time insured that teachers and administrative staff at the University of Zimbabwe had a significant influence over university life. Since 1990, the Council, which continues

to control academic appointments and to control university life, has become controlled by government officials. For example, in the 1990 amendment to the University Act of 1982, the Minister of Higher Education, through appointment powers "personally controls, as of now, 65% of a Council for which the quorum is 50%; and, in collaboration with the State President, three ex officio seats" (Cheater, 1991, p. 2-3). Thus, the President and Minister of Higher Education have insured that they can appoint 26 members of the Council while the elected university representation in the Council totals only 13 appointments (Cheater, 1991, p. 2-3).

The University faculty has suggested parity in its appointments to the University Council. The AUT, the SRC, the Senate, and the Vice Chancellor opposed the act on the grounds that by giving government a majority in the University Council and moreover, giving the President and the Minister the power to nominate senior university officials, it drastically reduced university autonomy to such an extent that it would seriously prejudice academic freedom. The President and Minister ensured that these measures were passed by the Parliament rapidly before societal demands could be heard adequately by Parliament. The government clearly railroaded the bill through parliament and other bills as will be discussed in the next section.

The Closed Government Policy Community Decides on the UZ Amendment Bill, NUST Bill and the NCHE Bill

The NUST bill is the National University of Science and Technology bill. The NCHE bill is the National Council for Higher Education bill. The University of Zimbabwe amendment bill of October 1990 is a clear example of the Closed Government Policy Community. As will be examined in this section, the government pushed the bill through Parliament without adequate consultation with members of the university community. The university community also denounced the bill because, if passed, it would turn the University into a "de facto government department" (Cheater, 1991, p. 11).

The government attempted to push the University of Zimbabwe amendment bill and the NUST bill through Parliament. Cheater suggested that the NUST bill and the UZ Amendment bill were almost identical but that the NUST bill affected the new public university in Bulawayo.

Cheater said,

the Minister took advantage of the fact that legislation was urgently needed to establish the new National University of Science and Technology, to produce virtually identical legislation for both the existing and new universities, notwithstanding one MP's attempt to uncouple the bills before their rescheduled second reading (Cheater, 1991, p. 10).

The government appeared to link the bills so that if a Parliamentarian wanted to support the creation of the NUST then it also had to support increasing government support of universities.

In spite of government attempts to push the bill through Parliament, some members of Parliament stood up and criticized the government. According to the Official Report: Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, at least five Members of Parliament made their voice heard in a critical fashion during the debates on the NUST bill.

The opponents of the bill worried about the concentration of power in the Minister and Vice Chancellor's hands and also the decreased powers of the University Council. One of the angry Parliament members, Mr. S. Moyo, suggested that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely...I think the powers here which the Vice Chancellor has proposed to be given are very tempting and will destroy the very institution which we may be intending to build" (Moyo, 1990). Another Member of Parliament, Mr. Bhebe, thought that the autonomy of the university was being eroded.

Minister of Higher Education Karimanzira, in the parliamentary debates on the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill, suggested that the autonomy of the University was being enhanced because the bill would try and "strengthen the administrative structure of the University" (Karimanzira, 1990). He argued that with the disturbances at the university in 1989, the bill was aimed at improving the administrative machinery to deal better with its problems. Karimanzira argued that in 1989 no Minister

"could quite explain to the Cabinet what had happened at the University. So the involvement of the Minister is that of accountability" (Karimanzira, 1990). Karimanzira tried to explain to opposition Parliamentarians how he would try to preserve checks and balances with the new bill:

On checks and balances-instead of the Vice Chancellor or the Council working on its own, we now have the Minister, the Council and the Chancellor involved in the checks and balances of the powers at the University. You will find that in many cases the Vice Chancellor is responsible to the Council and the Council to some extent also responsible to the Minister and also the Minister is duty bound to be involved whenever it is necessary. So, these thorough structures of power will provide the checks and balances which were not there at the University (Karimanzira, 1990).

But, the university community and parliamentarians opposed to the NUST bill viewed it as an unnecessary and threatening increase in executive government power, not as a check and balance. Mr. Ndebele, one of the opposition members of Parliament aired his concerns about the Vice-Chancellor's newly established sweeping powers. He was mainly concerned that the Vice Chancellor could now expel and suspend indefinitely. He said that these powers to dissolve or suspend indefinitely frighten him, "I think it will be a sad day when we will have a Vice Chancellor who will be answerable to nobody" (Ndebele, 1990). Of course, the government envisioned that the Vice Chancellor would be answerable to the President of the country and the Minister. But, the university community wanted a Vice Chancellor that was answerable to them.

Another factor that angered the Parliamentary opposition to this bill was the fact that the Attorney-General Patrick Anthony Chinamasa appeared to act on behalf of the government. The Attorney-General asked the Parliament to ignore a Parliamentary procedure in order to quickly push both the NUST Bill and the UZ Amendment Bill through Parliament.

Normally, the Parliamentary Legal Committee examines legislation to make sure that legislation that passes through the Parliament will not adversely affect human rights (Bhebe, 1990). Parliamentarians usually hear from this committee before legislation is voted on, but in this case the Attorney General moved that the requirement for a report from the Parliamentary Legal Committee for both bills be suspended so that Parliament could vote on the bills quickly. He appeared to be under pressure from the government. This angered parliamentarians who believed that these bills should be examined for potential human rights abuses. Ultimately, the government "persuaded" its party loyalists in Parliament to pass the bills quickly without much deliberation.

Mr. Nzarayebani, an opponent of both bills, spoke out fervently in Parliament against the government's use of Parliament as a rubber stamp for the government,

Our high standards here are comperative (sic) throughout the world and we are known for high standards in Africa. Then we bring in Bills of this calibre to undermine those values and standards. We,

as representatives of the people, come here to rubber-stamp that rubbish. A Bill that is concerned with building dictators. The university is a place of higher learning it has its academic autonomy and that autonomy must be respected by all concerned (Nzarayebani, 1990).

Nzarayebani did not want to see the university become a Minister-led university and he urged his colleagues not to allow the government to control the institution.

The government allowed the opposition to speak, but only to present the image that all sides got a fair hearing. When the government decided that debate should not be allowed, a member of Parliament, Mr. Malunga, was suspended from Parliament. As we shall discuss below, this action was clearly meant to prevent his amendment, which would have preserved some autonomy for this University of Zimbabwe, from being passed.

It is important to examine more closely the events surrounding Malunga's suspension from the Parliament because they indicate the nature of the Closed Government Policy Community. On October 25, 1990, according to the Official Report of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, Mr. Malunga introduced an amendment to the NUST bill which would make the Vice Chancellor accountable to the Council, and it would make him responsible for the general conduct and discipline of students, preventing him from expelling a student for misconduct unless the latter had been found guilty of that misconduct by the Student Disciplinary Committee (Official Report of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, October 25,

1990). Malunga's amendment was intended to return autonomy to university student and teacher representative committees rather than giving more power to the Chancellor, the President of the country.

The Deputy Chairman of Committees, George William Rubatso Marange, Esquire, is one of the principal officers of Parliament. He said that the Parliament could not vote on Malunga's amendment but that it had to vote first on the Minister's motion, the NUST bill. But like Malunga, the Attorney General said that the proposed amendment should be voted on. Malunga said "if I am beaten through the vote, that is okay" (Official Report of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, October 25, 1990). Malunga insisted that his amendment to the NUST bill be voted on since it was the proper parliamentary procedure to vote on his amendment first.

The Deputy Chairman Marange, who appeared to represent the Minister and Government's view, did not want to allow Malunga's amendment to be brought to a vote. Marange tried to prevent the amendment from being voted on by removing Malunga from Parliament until the Government's bill passed. Marange said according to "Standing Order number 74 when a member is named by the Chairman, he should leave the House" (Official Report of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, October 25, 1990). He further said that "Malunga was disrespectful of the Chair and the Chairman by refusing the

authority of the Chair" apparently because Malunga insisted that his amendment be voted on. As a result, a Government Minister of Lands, Agriculture, and Rural Resettlement moved that Malunga should be suspended from the service of the House for four days (Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates, October 25, 1990). Opponents of the bill felt intimidated by the government's apparent support of Malunga's suspension. The bill passed soon after to the delight of the government.

Another bill came before Parliament in 1990 which also exemplified the Closed Government Policy Community model. In December 1990, the government tabled a bill to establish a NCHE which would be chaired by a Presidential appointee. It would include a large majority of ministerial appointees as well as the Vice Chancellors of all universities in Zimbabwe (Cheater, 1991, p. 3). The bill would give the government academic and scheduling powers. Cheater details the purpose of the Council:

- (1) to maintain appropriate standards in regard to teaching, courses of instruction, examinations and academic qualifications in institutions of higher education;
- (2) to establish and regulate common student admission procedures for institutions of higher education;
- (3) to advise the Minister on the standardization, recognition and equation of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic qualifications; and
- (4) to recommend to the Minister on all applications to establish private universities in Zimbabwe, or to revoke their governing charters (Cheater, 1991, p. 3).

This NCHE bill had been debated through all its parliamentary and committee stages between December 11-13, 1990 in a rushed fashion. The government did not make the University of Zimbabwe aware of this bill because it anticipated opposition. Instead, members of the University community heard of the bill on December 13 when it was reported in the daily press. It had passed its second and third readings by then (Cheater, 1991, p. 12). Before the creation of the NCHE, the University Senate, according to the University Act of 1982, was the academic authority of the University and it was responsible for academic policy, the regulation of courses of study, the preparation and dissemination of examinations held by the University, the regulation of admission of students to the University and to the courses of instruction, and the appointment of examiners (Cheater, 1991, p. 4).

Cheater sums up well the implications of the NCHE and University of Zimbabwe amendment bills. With these government bills, "It appears that the state (or the party that controls the state) intends to deprive the University of Zimbabwe of all independent control over who it admits, what and how it teaches and examines them, and the standards of attainment to be applied" (Cheater, 1991, p. 4).

Societal Reaction to the 1990 Bills

Societal groups were outraged over the bills. In 1990, with opposition to the bills growing, the AUT held its first ever public protest and urged the President not to sign the UZ amendment bill. Vice Chancellor Kamba even went on television to announce the university's decision to unequivocally reject the legislation (Cheater, 1991, p. 10). A University of Zimbabwe Bill Committee (UZBC) was formed in order to create a unified strong societal force that could seek audience with the President of the country. It consisted of members from the SRC, the AUT, the deans, the administration, the Senate and the Council.

Prior to the UZBC, Mugabe had declined prior requests by the AUT and SRC to meet, but since the UZBC was a powerful societal lobbying organization he agreed to meet with its representatives. One might speculate that Mugabe agreed to meet with the UZBC for two reasons. First, Mugabe probably wanted to appear open to dialogue. Second, Mugabe most likely recognized that the UZBC, consisting of six major groups, could severely damage his image if he declined to appear willing to talk.

At the meeting, Mugabe presented his reasons for signing the bill. He stressed that the governing organs of the ruling party had approved the bill's provisions. In essence, he implied that a small, closed group of government political leaders had made the decision while discounting

the opinion of others. Further, Mugabe suggested that since the Parliament had "democratically" passed the legislation a constitutional crisis would occur if he did not sign the law.

The President informed the UZBC that they could confer further with officials of the Ministry of Higher Education but the Ministry refused, and the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act was signed into law in December 1990. On February 21, 1991, in a meeting between the UZBC, and the Ministry of Higher Education, the latter said it was prepared to talk only about the mechanisms to implement the legislation. As such, these meetings are examples of how members of a Closed Government Policy Community try to justify their exclusive status by permitting consultation only on their own terms.

The university community has not accepted the government decisions quietly. Vice Chancellor Kamba was convinced that serious harm would be done to the University unless this legislation is changed. The AUT inevitably protested the manner in which the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill was passed (Cheater, 1991, p. 13). The Executive Committee of the AUT prepared a statement for the Financial Gazette, in which over 60% of the academic staff at the University of Zimbabwe signed which condemned the government for its passage of the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill. The AUT claimed the bill would impose

direct political control over the University, and transform it from an autonomous institution of learning into a state university. The key issue here for many concerned is autonomy of the state versus autonomy of the university. The statement is presented here in its entirety because it is relevant to the issue of autonomy discussed in this dissertation and to the issue of academic freedom around the world,

We, the undersigned members of the University of Zimbabwe, strongly protest the passing of the University Amendment Bill (1990), soon to become law. We protest the manner in which the Bill was passed by Parliament without proper consultation. We reject the purpose of the Bill, which is to impose direct political control over the University: to transform it from an autonomous institution of learning into a state university. Given the dominance of a single political party in the Government the University could effectively become merely a party university. We believe that the Bill reveals a deep ignorance of the historical role of universities. Universities are charged with the task and duty of advancing knowledge. Centuries of experience show that they can do this only through critical inquiry, which is possible only if they are free of direct state control. The Sixty Eighth General Assembly of World University Service meeting in Lima in 1988 extended the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the field of academic freedom and autonomy of institutions of higher education. In this document, autonomy means the independence of institutions of higher education from the State and all other forces of society, to make decisions regarding its internal government, finance, administration, and to establish its policies of education, research, extension work and other related activities. This Bill is in direct conflict with this internationally recognised covenant. We believe that the imposition of this Bill will seriously damage the University and will in fact prevent it from playing its proper role in National development" (Executive Committee of the Association of University Teachers, 1991, p. 6).

Faculty, as indicated in the above quote, were outraged over the manner in which the government forced the bill through Parliament without proper consultation.

Another societal group infuriated with the government was the students. Cheater suggests that there is widespread belief at the University of Zimbabwe that both the ruling ZANU(PF) party youth wing and the police have been used by politicians of the ruling party as agent provocateurs (Cheater, 1991, p. 9). In order to offer evidence of this, Cheater examines an event that occurred in late 1990. The campus branch leader of ZANU(PF) resigned, citing the government party leaders with suppressing opposition. Cheater adds, "There is malaise in the country, and the government seems to have no idea how to handle it, except to punish violent opposition from students and school-children" (Cheater, 1991, p. 9).

Another indicator of the lack of consultation and communication between society and government is the following example. In June 1991, Karimanzira canceled a meeting with the student union president, Christopher Giwa, and as a result Giwa wrote a report which accused Karimanzira of lying and not keeping his promises to meet with students (Giwa, 1991, p. 1). The Vice Chancellor should ideally serve as a facilitator in keeping the channels of communication open for society and government in making university policy. The struggle between the

University and the government over administrative and academic autonomy continues to date. However, as we will discover in the next section, the Vice Chancellor is in a precarious position.

The Precarious Position of the Vice Chancellor in University Policy

The point of access for students and teachers to make their concerns known to government was often through the Vice Chancellor. The Vice Chancellor was seen as the "voice of the University"; yet, at the same time he was seen as the government's agent for implementing University policy. But, Kamba grew increasingly weary representing the government's view to hostile University teachers and students, in the same way as Chief Mangwende disliked his role as implementor of colonial government policy in Chapter Two. The post-independence government under Mugabe did not benefit from the lessons of the RF government's handling of the Mangwende case. Both ignored the importance of dialogue and open channels of communication.

When turmoil began in 1988 and 1989, students viewed Kamba as a fence-sitter. They demanded that he make sure the students' and teachers' demands were heard by government. The view was expressed by Mutambara,

Professor Kamba should take a definite position to protect his students and his university. We are all happy he has not condemned us, but we are not happy with his 'fence-sitting'. We demand he protects students' academic and intellectual freedom, and the

unexplained detentions of faculty staff and students" ("Threat to Shut," 1989).

Students learned in 1990 that Kamba no longer wanted to implement government university policy. The announcement of the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act just before Christmas in 1990, led Kamba to bemoan, "some Christmas present." After three months of an uneasy calm, on the second day of the University's July graduation ceremony, Kamba dramatically and without any warning announced his impending resignation. The ceremony was presided by a shocked Mugabe. Kamba said:

There are too many fingers in the affairs of the university-non-professional fingers with a wide variety of agenda. I accept that we live in times in which the only constant variable is change. But for me, professionalism is at the root of my academia. I was appointed purely and entirely for my professionalism. I am a professional at heart, I am a professional by experience, dedication, and commitment. I have never and will never play games. Whatever I do my conscience is my master" ("Professor Kamba Throws," 1991, p. 1).

So, believing he could no longer continue to represent the government's views or participate in the Closed Government Policy Community, Kamba stepped down. By doing so, he took a stand for academic freedom.

Dr. G. L. Chavunduka, former Dean of Social Sciences, became the new Vice Chancellor in early 1992. He was also Chairman of the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association. Prior to becoming Dean he had taught in the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe for many years except for a three year period when he worked for

the Zimbabwean President's office. When asked in an interview with the author on July 24, 1991 about the bills and how they will affect the autonomy of the University, Chavunduka responded, "They will not affect the autonomy at all-there may not be an effect at all. But, there is a possibility for problems about delegation of power."

Chavunduka appeared to be concerned about the role of government and society in delegating power. Chavunduka recognized that the bills have had a negative effect on the morale of the faculty. As a result of the confrontations between the government and university students and teachers, many faculty members are apprehensive.

Chavunduka appears to be respected by university teachers and government officials. He worked in the Zimbabwean President's office and presumably had personal connections to members of the government. Yet, he is also respected by the University of Zimbabwe community for being professional and skilled. In fact, the faculty at UZ generally supported his appointment as Vice Chancellor.

The SRC president in June 1992, Paul Chimhosva, though views Chavunduka as more political than professional. Chimhosva reacted bitterly to Chavunduka's order that the SRC members move out of their halls of residence because the SRC union was under suspension. In response, Chimhosva suggested that the university and government could only resolve their problems if they negotiate with the student

body, which is represented by the SRC ("Zimbabwe: University", 1992). Chimhosva expressed disapproval at Chavunduka's order. To better understand the conflict and Chavunduka's order it is necessary to discuss the university demonstrations of 1992.

University Demonstrations in 1992

In 1992, another major student demonstration led to the second closure of the University of Zimbabwe. In the beginning of May 1992, Chavunduka was able to negotiate an unprecedented agreement with the police in which de facto recognition was given to the students in order to peacefully protest. Student protests were indeed peaceful until violent demonstrations erupted on May 28, 1992. Students protested both on campus and downtown against a government ordered tuition increase of 25%. The decision for an increase was made by government without adequate consultation with university student organizations, such as the SRC. The students demanded an increase in government educational grants of at least 30%. But, the government on May 15, 1992 was only willing to increase the university students' grants by 25%, and the students argued that the increase was neither sufficient to cover inflation nor to cover the newly announced increase in fees.

The demonstrations also touched on the broader question of government corruption. The students, according to

Chimhosva, demanded the sacking of seven cabinet ministers including the Ministers of Higher Education, Agriculture, Finance, and Home Affairs (Karoro, 1992). They called for the resignation of President Mugabe whom they accused of delaying action on important national issues, including the scrapping of the Structural Adjustment Program. Further, they wanted a repeal of the controversial 1991 University of Zimbabwe Act and a definite decision on water for drought stricken areas. Chimhosva said, "Our main aim is to challenge the pressure groups to reconcile and come together and draft a reasonable constitution for the country at a convention" (Karoro, 1992). It is significant to note the fact that the students were dissatisfied with the government over so many different issues which serves as an indication of how far the Closed Government Policy Community had alienated students.

Violence erupted when police intervened to block a student attempt to seal off the Ministry of Education building in downtown Harare. Zimbabwe's Catholic Justice and Peace Commission found that the police used riot batons on the students. Students smashed store windows and overturned cars in Harare. Following that intervention, the police banned all off-campus demonstrations and the riot police surrounded the campus.

In an interview with the Chronicle of Higher Education, Dr. Chavunduka said violence had forced the institution's

governing council to expel the students. "They have a right to demonstrate, and we supported them in that right," he said, "but when it became violent at the end, that we could not tolerate" (Askin, 1992, p. A37). Chavunduka even suggested that the students' demands were justifiable, but he did not approve of violence as a means to achieve those ends (Matimba, 1992). A statement issued by the Ministry of Higher Education said that student problems should be addressed through a proper channel. Higher Education Minister Karimanzira said that the government would ignore the students' demands for financial aid because the government did not think it could meet the students needs, and so the protests continued and the students were expelled (Askin, 1992, p. A37). Three students from the SRC leadership that were expelled have been reinstated by a Supreme Court order. The court said the university had violated their rights to due process by not going through the proper disciplinary procedures and by not giving the students lawyers.

Explanations for a Closed Government Policy Community During a Period of Democratization

The Closed Government Policy Community model reveals some important implications for Zimbabwe. First, by preventing societal influence in making university policy, the Zimbabwean government demonstrated that it is not willing to tolerate individuals who criticize its policies.

Second, the physical force used by the government's riot police on the students demonstrates that it is willing to intimidate its own citizens. Third, if the government silences its opposition it may be silencing advice that could lead to national development and improved quality of life for citizens. These are costs to the individual and society at large.

The period of liberalization and democratization in Africa, which began around 1989 and is currently in progress, is a result of internal societal pressures to end authoritarian rule, and a result of external examples of democratization such as those in Eastern Europe. While there are societal and state pressures for democratization in Africa, Zimbabwean Ibbo Mandaza says that African leaders want development and national unity before democracy (Mandaza & Sachikonye, 1991, p. 5). However, societal actors in Africa suggest that democratization must occur before development and national unity. Students and members of Parliament recognize the need for democratization. When the government has reacted violently with force, it has inflamed more people. If the government continues to use violent force against society, the result will be a stronger and more unified opposition to the government.

Zimbabwean political scientist Jonathan Moyo seems to suggest that ZUM enhanced the growth of civil society and multi-party democracy in Zimbabwe. He believes that ZUM

became a convenient regrouping of various elements within the ruling party who felt marginalized from mainstream politics. According to Moyo, "This made ZUM a serious challenge to ZANU(PF) because it was a challenge from within" (Moyo, 1992, p. 37). Tekere himself launched an anti-corruption campaign against members of the ruling party and he also disliked Mugabe's support for a one-party state in Zimbabwe. ZANU reacted to ZUM by denying them permission to hold public rallies.

Mungazi believes that independent Zimbabwe, with a (de facto) one-party state, could lead to a new colonialism. He says, "Nations in Africa in general must remember that in such political ideology as a one party state or president for life, new forms of colonialism may emerge to impose new conditions of oppression perhaps worse than those the Africans endured under European colonial governments" (Mungazi, 1992, p. 112). Further, he suggests that checks and balances are crucial for governments. Mungazi blames the one-party government for its inability to listen to the wishes of the people. He says the one-party government "robs the people of a genuine desire to promote the ideas of individual self-fulfillment and national development, and replaces their confidence for the future with despair" (Mungazi, 1992, p. xxvi and p. 112). This issue of the ability or inability of the government to listen and respond

to the wishes of people is at the very heart of my model of governmental responsiveness to societal influence.

In 1990, Tekere sought to change the government through elections. Moyo suggests that while the 1990 elections were neither free nor fair, ZUM aimed to revive multi-party politics in Zimbabwe. He contends that this aim was supported by a majority of voters in the 1990 elections, despite the fact that ZUM won only two seats in Parliament (Moyo, 1992, p. 42).

The parallels between the students and ZUM's complaints were striking as were the reactions of government to both groups. As Moyo suggests, students and ZUM disliked government corruption which became a rallying issue for outspoken individuals, such as Tekere. Groups which had tended to support ZANU(PF), such as the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and University of Zimbabwe students, became critical of the party whom they held responsible for public ills, such as unemployment, inflation, shortage of transport, and shortage of housing (Moyo, 1992, p. 32).

In Zimbabwe, there is evidence to support the claim that the growth in student, teacher, and societal pressures has been associated with the growth of civil society and the increasing demands for democratization in Zimbabwe. ZUM and student protests grew at the same time in reaction to allegations of government corruption. An Africa Watch report on the state of Africa's universities entitled

Academic Freedom and Human Rights Abuses in Africa, demonstrates the clear connection between the growth in student, teacher and societal pressure and the growth of civil society. It states that, "At a time when Africa is experiencing the emergence of civilian movements advocating respect for human rights, academic freedom is increasingly under attack" (Meldrum, 1991, September-October, p. 64).

Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van De Walle examined Africa in 1990 and saw what they called the first significant appearance of political ideas to support alternative ruling coalitions in Africa. They said, "Although an alternative ruling coalition did not fully emerge everywhere, the political ideas to support such a coalition did make an important first appearance" (Bratton and Van De Walle, 1992, p. 54). Their finding is relevant to the case of Zimbabwe. University of Zimbabwe students and ZUM expressed outrage over government corruption and the one-party state in 1990. These expressions of outrage appear to represent the first significant appearance of political ideas to support an alternative ruling coalition in Zimbabwe. On May 30, 1992 though, the Forum for Democratic Reform (Forum) was created, and it appears to represent the beginning of a truly alternative ruling coalition.

In 1992, the Forum echoed the concerns expressed by students, teachers, and opposition Parliamentarians. The

new political pressure group called for improved human rights, freedom of speech, and increased democracy, all of which the students and teachers of the University of Zimbabwe had been fighting for. The Forum is headed by interim chairman Edgar Sansole, a retired High Court judge. The Forum is predominantly a black group which is led by Zimbabwe's legal, religious, and business community, although it also has a member of organized labor in it. According to reporter Andrew Meldrum, "With backing from such a broad spectrum of Zimbabwean society, the Forum could well follow the example of Zambia's Movement for Multi-party Democracy and become a coalition of all forces opposed to the Mugabe government" (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 13-16).

Academic freedom which is important to students and teachers at the University is also very important to the Forum. Sansole says, "Freedom of speech and expression and the right to be heard have been scarce in this country. . . . Those freedoms are still scarce today and we want that to change" (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, pp. 13-16). The creation of the Forum appears to offer evidence for the growth of civil society but the Forum became an influential force in Zimbabwean politics only after my own fieldwork ended in 1991.

Civil society has expanded since 1988 and there is now greater potential for transitions to democracy. According to Daniel Levine, civil society denotes,

the emergence of groups independent of state tutelage and control. Such groups develop and ultimately press claims of collective identity and autonomous action against states and social elites long accustomed to dominate through corporatist or patrimonial manipulations. . . the 'resurrection of civil society' helps to spur and empower transitions to democracy" (Levine, 1988, p. 388).

During the period of liberalization and democratization, the government of Zimbabwe has felt threatened by societal pressures to democratize. As a result, the government has tried to restrict societal actor involvement in decision-making.

It is important to consider how the Closed Government Policy Community can survive in a period of democratization in Africa. One reason why a Closed Government Policy Community is possible during a period of liberalization and democratization is because the ruling government coalition often feels threatened so it tightens its grip on power. Henry Bienen and Jeffrey Herbst suggest that Zimbabwe's rulers have found it politically convenient and ideologically comforting to eliminate the major rival political parties (Bienen and Herbst, 1991, p. 226). Efforts toward democratization by students, teachers, ZUM, and opposition Parliamentarians, have been resisted by those in power. The government has tried to silence its opposition.

Mungazi cites the example of the conflict between the University of Zimbabwe and the government, and the example of the Mangwende Council discussed in Chapter Two to show how the government does not converse adequately with the people. Mungazi finds that democracy, however, allows people to express their political views freely; this is the ultimate manifestation of national liberation that Freire asserts education makes possible (Mungazi, 1992, p. 112).

The government of Zimbabwe in its handling of the crises at the University of Zimbabwe did not learn the crucial historical lesson expressed by Mungazi in Chapter Two, which was that conflict arose because communication was lacking or inadequate between government and society (Mungazi, 1992, p. 113). Dialogue is a key factor to improve government-societal relations. Mike Auret, director of the Zimbabwe Commission for Peace and Justice, said the key word to solving the crisis is dialogue (Matimba, 1992). However, dialogue is not supported by proponents of the Closed Government Policy Community.

Conclusion

The case of university policy was explored in order to provide the reader with an example of how the Closed Government Policy Community approach and the model are operationalized in this dissertation. This examination has revealed that students and university teachers wanted the

university to remain independent of political controls of the government; however, the government preferred to tighten control of the university. This chapter demonstrates that the government has powerful resources that it can mobilize to silence its opposition. Two resources the government used to silence student and faculty opposition were the closing of the university and the use of riot police. Another resource the government used was the removal of an opposition Parliamentarian from Parliament. The model of governmental responsiveness introduced in Chapter One allows us to examine the preferences and resources of various actors and their role in the decision-making process.

Examples have been offered in this chapter which indicate that university policy is made by a Closed Government Policy Community. First, in terms of the degree of openness, the policy community has been shown to be highly exclusive. Societal actors, such as the AUT and SRC, have been excluded from participation in the policy community. Second, there is no consultation between government and society in making university policy because government has not allowed two-way dialogue to develop when it meets with society.

In this chapter, the following illustrations of university policy being made by a Closed Government Policy Community have been identified. First, although President Mugabe met with the UZBC to try to justify the government's

position he did not allow a discussion or two-way consultation to develop. Second, the UZBC in their meeting with the President was told to consult with the Ministry of Higher Education in 1990 but the Minister was unavailable to them in 1990. Third, students were not allowed to freely express their beliefs in the newsletter called FOCUS. Fourth, Malunga was suspended from the Parliament for challenging a government bill. Fifth, students were prevented by government from demonstrating. Sixth, Vice Chancellor Kamba resigned in opposition to the closed nature of university decision-making.

In conclusion, I found that although the SRC, AUT, and Parliamentarians are prevented from the final university decision-making, and the decision appears to be authoritarian, the opposition actors are not silent and helpless but they struggle as do people around the world for a voice in policy. Moreover, their demands are heard and supported by other groups in civil society, such as ZUM and the Forum. Together, these civilians groups appear to be building alternative ruling coalitions and contributing to democratization. This dissertation will continue to explore how well societal needs are being communicated and heard by government in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5
OPEN CONFLICTUAL POLICY COMMUNITY:
THE CASE OF SCHOOL FEES

Overview

In the previous chapter, the government acted in an authoritarian manner in making university policy. This chapter will examine the case of school fees in which the government acted in a more democratic fashion and allowed local communities to exercise some control. The case of school fee policy is an example of the Open-Conflictual Policy Community. What accounts for the differences in the way the government relates to society in the case of school fees as opposed to university policy? What factors are present in the case of school fees which leads to an Open Conflictual Policy Community? The conclusion of this chapter will provide answers to these questions.

Whether local communities or the national government has control over the use of school fees is a critical issue. Whoever has control over school fees has some control over the purchase of educational resources. Before exploring the conflict over the control of school fees, it is important to explain the role of District Councils and the Ministry of

Education in educational financing to lay the groundwork for the discussion of school fees.

Educational Financing in Zimbabwe

District Councils are local governments which are composed of locally elected Councilors. District Council schools are found mostly in rural areas. They are poor relative to urban government schools and rural mission schools. District Council schools face a variety of problems that affect the quality of education. For example, teachers often do not want to teach in District Council schools because they are found in rural areas, some very remote, and teachers often prefer to live in or near a city. In a 1991 interview with the author, a District Council education head, who asked not to be identified, addressed some of the problems District Council schools face. He suggested that District Council schools suffer from poor quality teachers, lack of good accommodations, and a lack of student screening methods. He noted that the Ministry of Education picks the best in the teaching field to teach at government schools so District Council schools receive the poorer quality teachers. When asked how he responds to these problems, he said, "I visit schools often and write reports."

Since every Zimbabwean has a right to education, it is a nationally standardized public service. As a result,

education is a direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education. However, government views local authorities, such as District Councils, as field managers to carry out education policy. The District Council has local discretion over the execution of the District Council school budgets although the central government may think of the District Council as only a 'field office' (Helmsing & Wekwete, 1987, p. 10).

The government gives the local authorities a Per Capita Education grant and it provides teacher salaries (Helmsing & Wekwete, 1987, p. 4). Dr. B.R.S. Chivore, member of the Faculty of Education at the University of Zimbabwe, acknowledged in an interview that most of the Central Government's education budget goes toward salaries, "About three-fourths of the education budget is used for salaries, the rest for administration, books, etc" (personal communication, August 18, 1989). Bernard Gatawa, Head of the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, said in an interview, that regardless of the type of school all pupils receive a uniform per capita grant for textbooks based on enrollment (personal communication, August 18, 1989). Gatawa added, "It is approximately \$100 Zimbabwean dollars (US\$50) per capita grant per secondary school pupil that is meant to cover basic texts."

District Council revenue relies mostly on two sources, local taxes and fees and grants from the central government.

District Councils rely heavily on grant money from the central government in order to function. For example, 4% percent of education revenue for District Councils comes from local revenue and 96% comes from central government grants (Helmsing & Wekwete, 1987, June, p. 8). School fees constitute 60% of total local revenue (Helmsing & Wekwete, 1987, June, p. 7).

Education spending is in fact the largest component of District Council budgets. For example, in 1984 and 1985, education constituted 90% of District Council budgets. It is interesting to note that a large amount of the local revenue comes from liquor profits, between 25% and 42% (Helmsing & Wekwete, 1987, June, p. 8).

Students pay school fees in secondary schools. According to my 1991 headmasters surveys, private schools which tend to have high O level pass rates and are of high quality, charge day students approximately US\$300 and boarders about US\$633 a term. Some of the high quality mission schools in my sample charge students US\$130 to US\$230 a term. A high quality government school such as Goromonzi charges approximately US\$170 a term. Students at one of the high density suburbs ("township" schools), Rimuka Number Three in Kadoma, pay the following three types of school fees: approximately US\$25 a term in school tuition fees, US\$1.67 in school levy, and US\$2 a term. The three school fees combined cost each student almost US\$30 a term

to attend school. Poorer rural district council schools may charge around US\$20 a term. When many blue collar workers make only US\$120 a month, and have to send three children to secondary school, pay rent, and feed a family, the cost of school fees can seem very high indeed ("Zimbabwean workers", 1992). Therefore, parents want to make sure their fees are used wisely.

The role of parents is important in understanding the issue of school fees. District Council schools rely on the support of parents to function well. Parents pay fees to send their children to secondary school in Zimbabwe; as such they want the money to be used properly. Minister Chung said that in about 1980 or 1981 the Cabinet recommended that parents begin to largely control many of the schools and school fees with District Council assistance (personal communication, August 14, 1991). The government wanted parents to feel that they had a large role to play in their child's education.

Parents have taken an active role in improving education facilities throughout Zimbabwe. The teacher survey, given to 117 secondary teachers in Zimbabwe, confirmed this. Sixty-eight percent of the teachers said that the Parent Teacher Associations were the most important societal groups in terms of improving education. The District Council education head, written about earlier, mentioned that parents were also active in building schools

and teachers' homes. With this background in mind, we can now turn to the case study of the conflict between government, on the one hand, and the District Councils, local communities, and parents, on the other hand, for control over school fees.

In the case of school fees as we will discuss, the preferences of the government have differed from those of societal groups such as parents. Naturally, each wants control of them. It seems, however, societal groups with the help of District Councils mobilized more powerful resources than the government and as a result they pressured the government to be responsive to them, and as we will discover the government lost the control of school fees.

Key Policy Actors

Key societal actors are teachers and headmasters. The key governmental actor is Minister Chung. The District Council, court personnel, and Parliamentarians are important non-government state actors in this case. The first aspect of the model and of the policy community approach is to examine government and societal preferences. Societal preferences about school fees have been gathered in surveys of teachers and headmasters and through District Council interviews.

The headmasters were asked "Do you control textbook money and school fees? Who Should?." The headmaster of

Rafomoyo secondary school says that the Parent Teacher Association controls money and it works well. Another headmaster said that he does not control textbook or school fee money. Further, he says parents and local authority should.

An interview with the Minister revealed ministerial preferences regarding the control of school fees. The Minister was asked what actually happens as well as what should happen (preferences). The Minister believes school fees should be controlled by the Ministry and not by the local communities as was the case in 1991. Most headmasters wanted to control school fees or allow parent groups or District Councils to control them, but not the government.

Policy Issues in Educational Financing

One of the main issues to surface in this study was which level of government should control fees. Four teachers in the survey preferred the District Councils over the Central Government. These teachers preferred local control over central control. This would imply their support for local control of resources such as school fees. One teacher suggested that the government should let District Councils make policy. This teacher believed that decentralization to the lowest level was important because it encouraged the participation of parents and teachers. Yet, another teacher believed that education policies should

be formulated at the grassroots level. Still, another teacher recommended that the District Council should be stopped from interfering with the development of the school and that schools should be given ample authority to run their own affairs. Finally, another teacher declared that the Central government should help develop schools in rural areas, especially those not under government auspices like the District Council schools.

Another important policy issue relates to the misappropriation or misuse of funds. The Minister said,

Until 1987, the government gave schools money and the District Council collected fees for educational purposes. But, what had been happening was that District Councils with about 100 schools collected about 1/2 million dollars and they sometimes put money that was for books into buying tractors, or other non-educational purposes. Also, being less educated, many District Council members were conned by salesmen, who sold them lots and lots of tape for instance but not many books.

Chung suggested that because many books were not going to schools, in 1987, the Ministry of Education took away District Councils control of money.

Another important policy issue related to the quality of management in District Councils. Up until 1987, the District Councils had authority to hire teachers and collect fees for educational purposes. But, in 1987, the Ministry of Education took away the District Council's control over money because, according to Chung,

the District Council people often are poorly educated, maybe only 3-7 years of education and they are elected by the people and become the decision-makers. Well two

problems have arisen. Often less qualified teachers, like a teacher with only a couple of O level (exam taken at end of form to determine if student qualifies for A level education) passes would get the job over someone highly educated even at university level. Second of all, there was a bias in hiring, because someone's relative or someone of the same ethnic group may be hired over others who are more qualified.

The government believed that due to a lack of education and nepotism the District Councils managed funds poorly.

The Emergence of an Open Conflictual Policy Community

This section will examine the emergence of an Open Conflictual Policy Community. The decision to allow local communities and District Councils to control school fees was made by an Open Conflictual Policy Community composed of local community actors, parents, headmasters, District Council officials, Parliamentarians, Minister Chung, and a judge.

The key to understanding this policy community is that the opinion of societal actors shapes the decisions that are made. Government has limited action to implement its policy decisions without the approval of key societal groups. In the 1991 interview with Chung, she indicated that between 1987 and 1991 Members of Parliament and communities noticed that books were not getting to the schools (personal communication, August 14, 1991). Chung learned, when she went to Parliament in 1991 to discuss the matter, Parliamentarians had changed their minds. They wanted the Ministry to control fees again. Chung believed that the

Ministry had enough support in communities and in Parliament to take control of education fees from the District Councils. Although Chung acknowledged in 1991 that it is still a fight, she indicated that the government had popular opinion on its side, and therefore in 1991 she said she wanted to initiate a new bill to end local misuse of funds.

As an apparent advocate of the Open Conflictual Policy Community, Chung believes that she must follow public opinion and societal views. Chung suggested that the Ministry had to wait until "popular opinion" agrees with the Ministry's opinion before further action can be taken, and then in 1991, it was time because Parliament and popular opinion agreed (personal communication, August 14, 1991). This is a clear case of societal actors having the upper hand and determining when and how the Ministry will respond.

In this case, the state is not authoritarian, it is responsive to societal demands. As a result, government had been forced by a coalition of community groups and state actors such as the District Council and Members of Parliament to give up control of school fees. Chung suggested that the official Education Act gave District Councils control of money. Yet, the government wanted to change the Act so that it could control school fees because it perceived the District Councils were misusing money. The District Councils and local communities wanted to maintain control of school fees. As a result, the government wanted

to change the Act, and the District Councils, communities, and Members of Parliament were furious and they took the government to court, according to Chung.

In response to government control of school fees, the community actors, parents and the District Council representatives, mobilized a very powerful resource--access to the court system--in order to pressure the government to return to them their control over money. The Supreme Court decision was in favor of the community groups. Parents also complained to their Parliamentarians about the misuse of school fees. Therefore, the District Councils, local communities, and parents were able to mobilize Parliamentarians and the court on their side.

The Ministry of Education's main resource was its coercive power over local and regional offices who could try to control the money. In this case, the court sided with the communities finding that the government and the Ministry of Education must allow District Councils and communities the right to control school fees because of the law. So, government competed with society over the control of the policy process and the latter prevailed.

The judge ruled that the government abide by the law and allow District Councils to control fees. The government failed to control state institutions. The government did not feel that if the District Councils and local communities controlled school fees that this was a threat to government

legitimacy. Therefore, the government adhered to the decision.

It is important to understand the nature of the political good. The case of school fees was of particular significance to the public. In the case of university policy, the government gives students grants to attend the university and expects obedience; whereas, in the case of secondary school fees the parents pay high fees for their children to attend school and expect the money to be used wisely. As a result, the government feels that it has to pay attention to public opinion in the case of school fees; whereas it appears to believe that it can virtually ignore public opinion in the case of university policy. The case of school fees is evidence that the government can respond in a democratic fashion to societal pressure. This issue of school fees was very significant to the public.

Evidence of the Open Conflictual Policy Community

Education policy is a function of competition between government and societal interests over (1) divergent preferences, (2) resources, and (3) control of the actual policy process. In the case of school fees, as is shown in Figure 5-1, (1) the National Ministry of Education preferred to control the use of school fees and (2) parents, local communities, and District Councils preferred to control the use of school fees. District Council members and community

members mobilized two major resources: (1) pressuring Members of Parliament to support them and (2) access of community members to the court system. The government mobilized its Ministry officials on its behalf. Yet, in the policy process the government consulted with societal groups and accepted the court's decision in favor of society. Figure 5-1 summarizes these different stages of the policy communities approach in the model of governmental responsiveness to societal influence.

The school fee issue can be tested against hypothesis three which deals with crisis situations. Before testing whether this case confirms or refutes hypothesis three it is important to offer evidence that the case of school fees is an issue of crisis proportions. The school fee issue had reached crisis proportions because the following variables that Grindle and Thomas cite as indicators of crisis are present: strong pressure for reform, high stakes, high-level-decision-maker involvement, chance for innovative change, and pressure to act immediately (Grindle & Thomas, 1991).

The issue of who should control school fees has received nation-wide attention because of the high stakes involved in this issue. There was intense competition between different actors on this issue of school fees before the Supreme Court ruling.

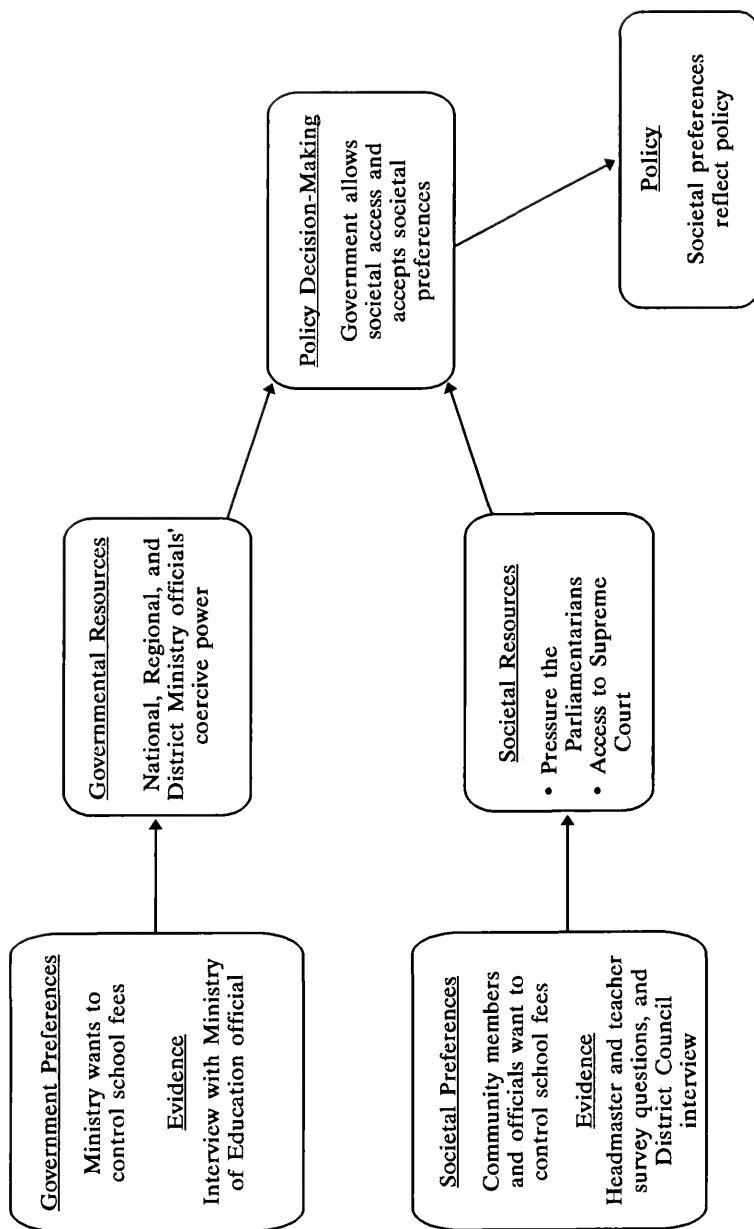


Figure 5-1. A Summary of the School Fees Case and Its Application to the Model

The Financial Gazette reports that pupils are adversely affect by the misuse of school finances and fees by some headmasters, "Councillor Stella Useya from Maungwe District, said some pupils were probably not going to be able to write examinations this year because of the financial problems in their schools" ("Headmasters are now," 1990, p. 2).

Another indicator of this crisis situation is that the misuse of school fees has led to a deterioration in schools. School development committees in the district council that controlled the finances of schools became disinterested in the schools when they lost the power to control the finances. As a result, the building in most schools has stagnated and administration has broken down ("Headmasters are now," 1990, p. 2).

Another major indicator of how the case of school fees is of crisis proportions is the fact that Minister Chung, a high-level-decision-maker became heavily involved in this issue. Chung became directly involved in the crisis and in 1991 she pressured Parliamentarians to act immediately in favor of school fees. Pressure to act immediately is another indicator of a crisis situation.

In my interview with the Minister in 1991 she said, "The Cabinet is involved in the bigger issues, structural issues, like who controls school fees" (personal communication, August 14, 1991). The inclusion of Cabinet members in the Open Conflictual Policy Community, such as

Fay Chung, is an indicator of the crisis situation surrounding the issue of school fees.

Hypothesis three is repudiated in this case of school fees. The hypothesis suggests that in cases where government legitimacy and survival are not in question, but the government believes high stakes are involved in terms of political control and stability, the government will mobilize resources but it will not exclude societal actors from the policy-making process. The case of school fees does confirm that decision-making is dominated by concerns for political control; however, this case rejects the notion that in a crisis situation, decision-making is dominated by a concern for political stability. Neither the government nor societal influences in the case of school fees appeared to be concerned about political stability. This case has offered evidence to suggest that political stability is not necessarily a feature of a crisis situation.

Hypothesis three, which is based on Grindle and Thomas's work (1991), has another weakness which was discovered in this chapter. Grindle and Thomas suggest that in "crisis-ridden" situations, decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control and in these situations the state is the most influential actor. However, even though the issue of school fees was of crisis proportions, the state is not the most influential actor in this case. In the case of

school fees the local communities and District Councils were the most influential actors. If it were not for parental and community pressures on the District Councils, courts, and Parliamentarians--the government would not have been challenged on the issue of school fees.

Hypothesis one is confirmed in this case. It suggests that policy issues that require extended capabilities beyond the government's capabilities and in which the nature of the political good provides a decisive advantage to societal groups results in societal control of the policy process. In the case of secondary school fees the parents pay high fees for their children to attend school and they expect the money to be used wisely. The case of school fees requires extended capabilities beyond the government because the fees are from parents. The nature of the political good, parents' fees, gives a decisive advantage to societal groups in the policy-making process. The result is that the government feels that it has to pay attention to public opinion in the case of school fees because the money comes from the parents.

Societal actors with the aid of state actors can overcome powerful governmental actors in an Open Conflictual Policy Community. The outcome of an Open Conflictual Policy Community is that government accepts societal preferences and the policy reflects societal preferences.

What accounts for the differences in the way the government relates to society in the case of school fees as opposed to university policy? It is important to understand why this case is different from others. First the relationship between the government and non-state actors differed in these two cases. For instance, in the case of university policy the government made sure that the Ministry of Higher Education, a state institution, fully supported the government. However, in the case of school fees, the government was unable to coerce state institutions such as the court system, District Councils, and Parliamentarians to agree with its position. The local communities were able instead to gain support of these powerful state institutions because they actively mobilized and pressured Parliamentarians and the court system to respond to their case.

Second, dialogue between all these different actors was a common feature in this Open Conflictual Policy Community whereas dialogue did not occur between government and society in the case of university policy. Third, the government perceived the university issue as a threat to its legitimacy whereas the conflict over school fees was not a threat to its legitimacy.

In conclusion, the school fee case offers a clear example of the Open Conflictual Policy Community. First, the policy community was highly inclusive of state,

government, and societal actors. Second, there was a high degree of consultation between the different actors.

The government, in this case, acknowledged the need for extensive dialogue with other actors. For instance, after the court ruled that the government must allow local communities and District Councils to control school fees, the government's new strategy was to consult with Parliament and examine public opinion. Then when the public and Parliamentarians were ready for change, government sought it.

The government and local community representatives consulted with each other on this issue but they could not resolve the conflict among themselves. The discrepancy between the Government and local communities was brought before the Supreme Court in order to have the dispute settled. As a result of the Supreme Court's ruling that local communities and District Councils would control school fees, the Minister of Education, in 1991, began an effort to change that policy. Chung said that before they could gain control of school fees the Ministry needed favorable public opinion and Parliamentary support. She suggested they could gain support if enough parents complained that the District Councils were misusing funds. So, community members, societal actors, and Parliamentarians proved powerful in the policy-making process.

CHAPTER 6
CLOSED COOPERATIVE POLICY COMMUNITY:
THE CASE OF CURRICULUM POLICY

Overview

Societal groups, government actors, and state actors generally collaborate and cooperate on curriculum policy. Curriculum policy is made by a Closed Cooperative Policy Community which involves a medium degree of consultation and is only a little exclusive. Curriculum planners in the Ministry of Education work with teachers, publishers, university and teacher training college staff, industry officials, and professional bodies and organizations to design curriculum policy.

I will investigate different curriculum policies to measure the extent to which policy is made by societal or government actors. Curriculum is a program of activities intended for school children (Gatawa, 1990, p. 12). Curriculum "is a conscious statement of the intentions and aspirations of decision-makers for school children, encapsulating the national goals of a country, school syllabuses, teachers' guides, pupils' books, time-tables, evaluation strategies and schemes of assessment and examination" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 12).

I agree with two Zimbabwean scholars, Chivore and Gatawa, who have written extensively about teacher training and curriculum policy in Zimbabwe, that curriculum policy is political (Chivore, 1991, p. 131 and Gatawa, 1990, p. 5). Gatawa is the Regional Director of the Ministry of Education for Mashonaland East, and in 1989 he was Head of the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. Gatawa's book most closely resembles Nordlinger's work in that it relates to autonomy of the state; however, Gatawa addresses autonomy of curriculum policy by looking at curriculum in general and I will dissect curriculum policy into specific policy areas, such as science, practical education, and political economy.

Preferences

When considering curriculum policy it is important to consider the preferences of the following actors: curriculum designers, students, teachers, government, professional organizations, examination board members. Curriculum designers need continuous interaction with others and ample information to guide them in designing curriculum (Gatawa, 1990, p. 52). The government wants a curriculum which promotes its ideology, the curriculum is seen as a vehicle for teaching not only specific technical knowledge but also general ideological-political orientations. Hence,

it attracts the active interest of politicians and governments (Gatawa, 1990, p. 70).

One teacher at a good quality urban government school said societal actors should be consulted, and invited to raise improvements to education such as in curriculum development. The teacher added that the work community, teachers, and organizations in education should participate. Teachers also want to use their professional training and insight to determine what is appropriate curriculum, suggests Gatawa, however official government directives and parent associations have their own agenda for curriculum which may contradict these goals of the teachers (Gatawa, 1990, p. 70). Teachers generally want a curriculum which they feel confident to teach, which encourages good teacher-pupil interaction (Gatawa, 1990, p. 52). Professional organizations and examinations board members want a curriculum that meets their standards and goals.

Headmasters have preferences regarding curriculum policy. One headmaster indicated a less biased curriculum. He said, "Many of the textbooks written and put out by the CDU (Curriculum Development Unit) are tendentious." He implied that the textbooks have an ideological bias that favors the government's socialist goals.

The Role of the Ministry of Education's
Curriculum Development Unit

The most important bureaucratic unit that deals with instructional materials and textbook needs in schools is the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) of the Ministry of Education. The CDU works with national curriculum policy. National curriculum is orderly and it ensures uniformity (Gatawa, 1990, p. 25). However, national curriculum can lead to a neglect of local needs (Gatawa, 1990, p. 25).

Gatawa calls for a system of curriculum development in which curriculum developers are in constant communication with the teachers and others at the grassroots level (Gatawa, 1990, p. 26). The central bureaucracy needs feedback from the local areas when designing curriculum yet it should maintain a central purpose says Gatawa (Gatawa, 1990, p. 26). The central government cooperates with societal members to conduct curriculum trials. For instance, the government will select trial schools that are representative of conditions in which the curriculum will be implemented. In these schools draft syllabi will be tested (Gatawa, 1990, p. 34) before being introduced on the national level. This notion of testing syllabi in trial schools is a case of societal-governmental cooperation in education policy. The practical education curriculum, discussed in the section below, is a policy that has

resulted from government and societal preferences being compromised into an acceptable policy.

Minister Chung, discussed with the author, the consultation that occurs between different actors in the curriculum policy-making process (personal communication, August 14, 1991). She was asked in regards to curriculum policy, "How do new and old education policies evolve, and who inside and outside government are involved in creating and changing policy? I believe it is important for those interested in education to understand more about the education policy-making process so they can understand what is and is not feasible?" Minister Chung responded,

It depends on which policy you are talking about. I was heading the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) before I became Minister and so I can talk about curriculum policy and how it is made. A network/panel is developed to consider policy. The CDU has a panel under their supervision made up of approximately 18-24, roughly 20 people and they form a curriculum panel. There are different subject panels. Each panel is made up of teachers, related university departments, teachers in charge of department at schools, teachers training college subject teachers, industry representatives, and curriculum specialists. For instance, technical subjects would have technical specialists, people from that industry, science organizations, technical teachers, etc., all these people play a role. If the subject is agriculture, the group also includes people from AGRITEX, which has agricultural experts. Although teachers play an important role in these groups, they are sometimes not in the majority. Any of these members can initiate change, but for it to be accepted by Ministry then some consensus must exist.

The different actors involved in a subject panel correspond to Hayward's description of a "network of clustered 'insiders' engaged in an interactive process to

attain their policy aims," (Hayward, 1991). The involvement of government, state, society insiders in making government policy corresponds to the notion of the Closed Cooperative Policy Community for two reasons. First, the community is only a little exclusive in the sense that societal actors are allowed to be involved in decision-making but only a select group. Second, a medium degree of consultation and cooperation is found in the closed cooperative policy community.

Curriculum policy comes from government but societal groups such as university and college people are involved. The Ministry's Education Officer (EO) controls curriculum and inspects curriculum; but, as Gatawa said in a 1991 interview there are various subject associations such as the geography and history associations which influence curriculum decisions (personal communication, June 19, 1991). Teachers, college representatives, and university personnel are also consulted in curriculum policy-making. These are more examples of collaboration and cooperation in curriculum policy-making.

Gatawa discussed in a June 1991 interview how the Ministry of Education gets feedback from society (personal communication, June 19, 1991). From 1984 to 1986 there were different levels-the Curriculum Development Units had committees at the district, provincial and national level for each subject. The research orientation was evaluation

of materials. University faculty of education were involved in feeding information back into research and evaluation. But, the research and evaluation was not that regular Gatawa suggested. Gatawa said that there needed to be interviews and questionnaires.

I asked Gatawa in 1991 how he evaluates the needs of teachers and he said through workshops but he said they need more workshops (personal communication, June 19, 1991). He said contact with teachers is important but he needs more money for fuel to travel to schools.

Minister Chung discussed a typical science panel that took 5 years to design curriculum. The Minister said that this panel took far longer than most subject panels take. Most panels take a year to design policy. The Minister said,

We created a ZIMSCIENCE program which is relevant to Zimbabwe needs. The science group met 4 to 5 times a year, for five years. Members of the committee included science teachers, curriculum specialists and Cambridge exam people. The Cambridge people were included because each panel must write a syllabus and exam questions, so their input is useful. Publishers were not represented in the panel but with around 20 members of the group, it is easy for leaks to get out to publishers, because some members of the panel are writers. There was consensus on the findings of this science panel. Next, this panel which is supervised by the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) meets with a CDU team leader and 2 deputy leaders who can veto findings, but not often. The chief team leader of CDU can torpedo what people decide. But, usually, the CDU team leaders add suggestions and make sure the curriculum exam questions and the format are proper.

Minister Chung offered an example of when a team leader can prevent a policy from becoming operational. She said

One example of a chief torpedoing a group was in 1985 with the political economy curriculum. The chief said no to the political economy curriculum and it has never been operational. You see there are two types in the Ministry, the ideologues and educationalists and they struggle. The ideologues believe in this new ideology, new faith, and are true believers in principles. Next, you have your educationalists who are more technicians, anti-Stalinist. Educationalists believe in letting the children learn through experience, not by principles like the ideologues. The educationalists have a conservative, traditional mode, ideology and believe no one should impose an ideology on children. So, this conflict prevented policy from being operational.

There are a few major reasons why the government was unable to force ideology into the curriculum. First, most of the Ministry of Education is made up of bureaucrats who did not like the Government Minister's attempt to institute a political economy curriculum. Second, ideological education is not acceptable to society, particularly the parents who are generally conservative and adverse to a change that they perceive may lower the quality of education.

A Ministry of Education regional officer in a June 1991 interview said that there is some politicization of the curriculum by the Ministry. He was frustrated with the Cabinet's "political interference in Education and politicization of curriculum." He said it was infuriating, bothersome and detrimental to education. He implied that the government's socialist ideological agenda was being pursued in the curriculum instead of a more academic education. Yet, in reality, the ideologues have not succeeded in politicizing the curriculum as they wanted. The split between educationalists and ideologues will be

discussed. The issue of practical education will also be examined.

Close Examination of Curriculum Policies

The Conflict Between Practical and Academic Education

The issue of how relevant British history, geography, and science are for the developmental needs of Zimbabwe remains a key contentious issue for curriculum planners in Zimbabwe today. Also, the issue of whether to promote a technical/vocational education versus a more British style academic education has remained a contentious issue between society and government. Both government and society have had to compromise and cooperate in devising a policy that is at least partially acceptable to both.

In order to understand the issue over practical/vocational education policy it is necessary to briefly examine the pre-independence F2 system. Prior to independence there were two types of African secondary schools--the academic (F1) schools and the non-academic (F2) schools. In the early 1970's, the Rhodesians introduced F(2) secondary schools for black students which were not supported by parents (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18). The F2 curriculum was practically oriented and due to a lack of support of parents and pupils the policy was discontinued at independence. The F2 system was being phased out after independence because of public outrage that the F2 system

offered training for low paying jobs and that it was based on a racist colonial policy because it was only in effect in African schools and not in European schools.

Rugano Jonas Zvobgo, who was Deputy Principal of Mkoba Teachers' College in 1986, contends that there are problems associated with a focus on only academic education. He says "We are now unfortunately left only with formal academic F1 system. This is unfortunate because the F1 system inevitably leads to many of the post school unemployment problems which have serious socio-economic and political implications. It seems that we are accepting the fallacy that academic education is the answer to our problems of under development despite considerable evidence to the contrary" (Zvobgo, 1986, p. 64). Some Zimbabweans are beginning to understand the value of technical/vocational education because of the high unemployment rate of academically oriented students. Yet, there is still strong resistance in society to a more practically oriented curriculum. Zvobgo suggested that the F2 systems of practical, technical, and vocational education be expanded. He said F2 graduates are needed to find employment or create employment due to the current drive in Africa towards rural development. Zvobgo wishes the following had been done after independence, "Not abolish the F2 system but to re-organize its curriculum and also to launch a campaign of re-

educating people's attitudes towards it so that they could view it more positively" (Zvobgo, 1986, p. 65-66).

The Ministry of Education in 1991 seemed to be doing exactly what Zvobgo was suggesting. In Chapter Three Minister Chung mentioned that the greatest educational need of the Ministry was for a quality education that is relevant to Zimbabwe's developmental and social needs; that reflects the realities of the communal areas, and promotes skills and conceptual training that assists in this.

Although practical education is a priority of the government's according to the interview with Minister Chung it is not one of the five priority needs of students, teachers or headmasters. However, some societal groups did mention there was a need for practical education. One headmaster even said "I like the emphasis that is now placed on practical/technical subjects."

Even though there is some societal support for practical education, Chung said in the 1991 interview that it is an uphill battle against conservative and fixed positions because she said parents still demand the academic education that the whites had prior to independence. Minister Chung said: "As you know we had European and African education prior to independence. Everyone including the parents think what the whites had was the best, and it was a non-technical education. The peasants think they know what is best, which is what the whites had. So, it has been

an uphill battle" (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

Interestingly, when parent, teacher, and student views are not included in the policy community, the policy adopted may fail. Gatawa offers an example of this. The F2 curriculum was considered inferior and was believed to have created semi-skilled labor and not academically oriented students (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18). Many parents and teachers who did not support practically oriented education support academically oriented programs because they prepare students for the examinations (Gatawa, 1990, p. 19).

Gatawa suggests while the concept of practically oriented curriculum was not bad, the problem lay in lack of communication between planners and parents (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18). Gatawa offers an important lesson for curriculum change. He says to change curriculum you need to change people through communication and without communication change is difficult (Gatawa, 1990, p. 41). Indeed, for practically oriented education to succeed in Zimbabwe, there must be a lot of dialogue and communication between government and society first as to its benefits. Parents and students are assumed to be passive recipients or consumers of a curricula (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18), which suggests their needs are not included in the policy community. Parents and government should communicate more about curriculum policy.

Gatawa suggests that what happens in schools is not a copy of the official curriculum (Gatawa, 1990, p. 12). For instance, although Zimbabwe has officially adopted a curriculum called "Education with Production," which the government claims is in accordance with a socialist education, schools continue to offer an academic and Euro-centric curriculum which promotes capitalist values (Gatawa, 1990, p. 12). This policy is a compromise in which government and societal needs are both included in policy.

Chung said that the only way to have an effective practical education policy is to cooperate with key societal groups as is common in the Closed Cooperative Policy Community. Chung said that the teachers are a conservative force and the government must incorporate teachers' concerns into policy,

The teachers are a conservative group and they want what they used to have. We (the Ministry) must not go ahead of the teachers, and that is why we have such an involved and thought out process of decision-making, because to be effective we must not go against teachers ideas or we will not succeed. We must incorporate teachers' concerns in policy and others' concerns as well (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

The Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe appears to be very careful to not move too fast ahead of or to be out of line with societal demands of the parents, teachers, and headmasters. This clearly implies that the government is not autonomous but must cooperate and collaborate with societal groups in creating acceptable policy.

The headmaster of the oldest African government secondary school, Goromonzi High School, suggested that "We heads are stuck in the middle between parental demands and governmental demands, but often I find that it is our role as educationalists to convince the powerful parents that technical education is important and they should not resist it so much." Another headmaster suggested that education officials should direct parents and urge them to accept more technical training.

Many other headmasters surveyed aired support for a strong vocational education. These headmasters want to collaborate with the government and devise a better practical education system. One headmaster said that vocational education is not meeting the needs of the nation, because skills training is missing. The headmaster said that the education act of 1987 for technology and manpower needs to be implemented. One headmaster said, "agriculture, practicals, building and fabrics and agriculture and technical drawing are necessary for non-smart students." One headmaster said, "There is no provision for non-academic children." One headmaster mentioned that the lack of specialist schools is a problem. Another headmaster said, "I like the idea of teaching practical subjects in addition to theoretical ones." Some headmasters mentioned that students should be screened to guide some to academic and some to practical subjects.

One headmaster of a government school describes the present screening system at his school and the present course offerings when he says

Our new Forms 1 will be graded on the basis of their Grade 7 results and an internal exam which they write on arrival. We still maintain a streaming system which grades the boys after formal examinations at the end of each term in the first year. Let me say that although boys in 1A1 will be doing Latin, French, Physics, and other normal academic subjects, they will, like all others fall in line with Ministry policy and do at least one technical subject taken from the following choices: Metalwork/woodwork, Technical Drawing, Agriculture, Art/Craft, and Commerce. So, too, can they study courses in Religious Education and Careers Guidance and Counselling for Forms 1.

A headmaster mentioned that private schools allow some freedom with regard to curriculum. Another headmaster mentions that, "Local authority determines which technical/vocational subjects should be done based on resources available." A headmaster says, "at the local level they determine the curriculum due to their environment. Parents make demands on local authorities and on headmasters about what curriculum is offered in schools.

The President of Hillside Teachers College said in an interview in 1991 that the difference in views between the government and parents on technical education is large. He said, "We cannot move too fast. We must convince parents that not all their kids can wear suits and ties and sit in an office and that technical education will at least provide them with skills for job creation but I admit we have a long way to go to get the parents' consent." This indicates that

the views of society are important in curriculum policy-making.

A teacher in Gwanda told me in an interview in 1991 how parents felt about technical education,

the problem is that the colonial F2 technical education system was inferior and therefore parents at independence when told their kids would have an equal quality education, that to them meant a white academic education. Therefore, it was difficult for government to convince the parents that the new technical education is really not inferior. Therefore, the Ministry cannot go against the demands of the people, even if people are wrong because people urge their District Council officials and Members of Parliament to pressure the Ministry to listen to their concerns. Zimbabwe, being a populist government, must listen to the people to stay in power.

Teachers surveyed commented about their preference for better vocational education. One teacher said there is a need for alternative syllabi for the less academic. Another suggested the need for vocationalization of the curriculum. One teacher suggested the reasons for this need in vocational curriculum, "Education (has) raised aspirations and not prepared them (students) for societal roles so (the) result is frustration and delinquency."

In regard to preferences it appears that societal (student, teacher, headmaster) preferences are divergent from government preferences. As a result, one would expect conflict to result. In the case of practical education policy this conflict is evident in that the government favors an extensive practical education program but society has largely resisted it. As a result, government and

society they have been forced to compromise and collaborate in devising a policy that is partially acceptable to both.

The Case of Science Education and the Example of Resource Mobilization

Minister Chung discussed how the government mobilized its resources in order to change the minds of societal actors about science curriculum. Chung told the author,

We have tried to make science more relevant to Zimbabwe, but many parents and teachers believed that our equipment and program was inferior. One-fifth of the science curriculum focuses on what we call community needs, health, family planning, and agriculture. We also have focused on industries of Zimbabwe, unlike the pre-independence focus on industries in Britain, but whites in Zimbabwe who control industry have resisted. We developed a science kit for each secondary school, all 1512 (there were only 177 prior to independence) and the kits each cost about US\$1,000 compared to paying for a laboratory for each school which costs US\$40,000 per school. Parents and teachers at first looked upon our kits as cheap and inferior so our Ministry needed to embark on a public relations drive. We went to the posh, rich schools, who received our kits well, and appreciated them, because they saw that they worked. So, then poorer schools accepted them because the posh schools accepted them. We also have technical kits, which are traditional economic kits. The kits include hand tools and plows for oxen, these tools are appropriate to our stage of development. We need to modernize our economy. Three-fourths of these schools have the technical kits (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

Although parents and teachers questioned the government's science kit, the Ministry went on a public relations drive to convince parents that kit was not inferior. The government gained societal acceptance of the science kits by initiating a public relations drive. Indeed this displays

the Ministry's willingness to cooperate and interact with society. However, it is important to mention that not all in society are pleased with science education. One headmaster surveyed said that political influence in science and math have destroyed the curriculum.

Chung mentioned other curriculum programs that she believes are popular with society,

Other than these kits, we have advanced technical education, an extensive Zimbabwe Foundation of Education with Production (ZIMFEP) program, which is experimental and is very popular with the people in communities. Communities want them in their area because they offer extensive skills training. Of the 1,512 secondary schools, 28 of them are upgraded to a higher technical level (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

In conclusion, the government has the following powerful resources to influence curriculum decisions says Gatawa: defining ideology, dictating curriculum, hiring teachers (Gatawa, 1990, p. 14). However, the government would prefer to gain agreement with society on curriculum policy through consultation with societal actors rather than imposition of policy. That is why the CDU, which is heavily involved in curriculum development in the Ministry of Education, is open to involvement from societal actors, government actors, and state actors in making curriculum decisions as discussed below. The issue of communication and consultation will be discussed in the next sub-section.

Discussion of Components of the Model

Degree of Consultation

The Closed Cooperative Policy Community implies a medium degree of consultation in which discussion, communication, and deliberation occur between government, society, and state actors. However, there is not as much consultation or communication on curriculum issues as some in society would like. A headmaster in a high density suburb (township) surveyed in 1991 said that the curriculum is still very political in Zimbabwe and government does not consult with society enough.

Gatawa suggests that although teachers are the main actors in curriculum policy he suggests that because of a lack of consultation, curriculum materials do not address the felt needs of teachers because of "a failure to involve teachers significantly in curriculum issues" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 64). Teachers' guides are done without involving teachers (Gatawa, 1990, p. 63). Gatawa says classroom teachers should acquire a greater autonomy in shaping the instructional patterns and, where possible, should be encouraged to develop their own programs. Gatawa suggests that teachers must not only be consulted on curriculum decisions but they must be involved and supported to acquire skills through in-service programs (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18). The 'grassroots' approach, which gives teachers initiative,

should replace or, at least, be combined with, the 'from-the-top-down' administrative approach which reduces teachers to passive recipients of curriculum materials" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 64).

Gatawa suggests that a partnership should exist between teachers and curriculum developers and "teachers should be consulted and invited to contribute to the processes of planning and developing curriculum materials" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 65). Gatawa offers a suggestion for achieving this he says that there should be a four layer structure involving school curriculum groups, district curriculum groups, provincial curriculum groups, and national curriculum groups, and this four layer structure needs two-way communication. Gatawa says that if the central curriculum design team decides on a curriculum change, like the development of a new syllabus the idea would be put through the four layers for comments and amendments, before it is finalized by the central team. He also insists that teacher representatives should be members of this central team. Gatawa does not like the system in which university lecturers and education officers make up the majority. Instead he suggests that teachers who have to live with decisions should constitute a majority of the central teams (Gatawa, 1990, p. 66).

Gatawa said, "Teachers should be fully involved at all stages of curriculum development. To that end, a structure

should be created to facilitate their participation. The practice of handing down curriculum packages to teachers as if they were passive recipients does not guarantee effective implementation" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 71). He continues, "Teachers need in-service support since changes usually disorientate and de-skill them. It is not much good to ask teachers to implement a curriculum unless adequate training and equipment are provided as well. Communication and support are just as important as involvement" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 71).

There are a large number of actors who are consulted regarding curriculum decisions. For instance, publishing houses, trade unions, employer associations, professional bodies, churches, universities, examination boards, teachers, parents, pupils, commerce and industry, and ideology of the government (Gatawa, 1990, p. 14-21). Gatawa suggests that curriculum must be accountable to public opinion, "Generally, no school curriculum radically departs from public opinion. It is important because schools are accountable to it" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 44).

Gatawa appears to be trying to implement change in the Ministry toward more consultation with society. He has written extensive work on education policy, curriculum policy, and improving the quality of education. His work clearly sends the signal that the government should be responsive to societal needs. He has risen in the Ministry

from head of the CDU to Regional Director and as he gains increasing influence in the Ministry his views are more likely to be implemented.

Gatawa stresses the importance of communication in curriculum development, "There has to be significant and meaningful communication between initiators of change and the target area. There has to be a direct and two-way communication between initiators and users" (Gatawa, 1990, p. 48).

Government Responsiveness During Decision-Making and the Policy Outcome

According to Gatawa, decisions about the content of the curriculum are determined by needs of society, needs of learners as identified by curriculum planners, and prevailing theories of knowledge (Gatawa, 1990, p. 10). Gatawa said that the government has a key role in curriculum decisions (Gatawa, 1990, p. 14). However, the role of teachers as implementors of curriculum offers them a significant influence on curriculum decisions, says Gatawa (Gatawa, 1990, p. 18).

The result is that in curriculum policy, governmental and societal preferences are reflected in a policy. Curriculum policy is generally made in a non-crisis situation in which there is neither strong societal nor strong governmental pressure. As a result, government,

society, and state actors tend to work together in making curriculum policy.

Hypothesis two suggests that in non-crisis situations if societal groups' capability is not greater than the government's and the government's capability is not greater than societal groups' then neither alone control the policy process. This is confirmed in the case of curriculum policy. For instance, curriculum panels which design curriculum, are composed of societal, state, and even governmental actors.

This chapter confirms hypothesis one which suggests that if a policy issue requires the capability of government and society and the nature of the political good does not provide either with a decisive advantage then policy-making is controlled by both. Curriculum policy is a case which requires extended capabilities beyond the government. Government officials often do not have the expertise needed to devise curriculum policy and it must rely on expertise from the bureaucracy and from society. Curriculum is a political good which does not provide a decisive advantage to government or society. Instead, curriculum relies on input from a variety of actors. When society and the government cooperate in making policy, they often involve state actors such as the bureaucracy to work with.

Conclusion

Even when there is dissension over curriculum issues such as practical and science curriculum, the government consults with society and they cooperate in developing a policy that is somewhat acceptable to both groups. For instance, the government continues to support "education with production" schools although it does not try to force an unacceptable vocational curriculum on all students. Instead, students take a practical subject. But, the government has not implemented a full-scale vocational program due to parental resistance.

What factors exist in this case of curriculum policy which allow for a corporatist style of policy-making? First, some dialogue and consultation is encouraged between certain interest groups and government. Second, societal groups are included in the policy community but only to a degree. The government has not allowed teachers to make a majority on the curriculum team committees. Third, the nature of the political good is important. The government realizes that for curriculum to succeed it must be accepted by teachers who implement it, students who study it, and community needs and standards. I find that while teachers, parents, and business representatives work with government and the state in making curriculum policy, they also speak quite autonomously on behalf of their constituents.

In the next chapter, I will discuss another case of corporatist policy-making, similar to curriculum policy, however in the case of teacher training policy the government consults only a little with societal groups and excludes more societal actors.

CHAPTER 7
GOVERNMENT DIRECTED POLICY COMMUNITY:
THE CASE OF TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

Overview

Teacher training policy is made by a Government Directed Policy Community. This type of policy community resembles what Schmitter has called state corporatism which is, "an institutional arrangement in which the state seeks to co-opt or control major sectoral interest organizations, usually by establishing rules that govern their very creation as well as their behavior" (Keller, 1991, p. 148). The Government Directed Policy Community discussed in this chapter and the Closed Cooperative Policy Community discussed in Chapter Six and are both forms of corporatist policy-making; however, in this chapter the government and bureaucracy have larger roles in decision-making in relation to society than in the case of curriculum policy.

The Government Directed Policy Community represents a medium degree of exclusivity because most societal actors are excluded from the policy community; however, a few government selected societal representatives are involved in decision-making, such as university personnel. In the case of teacher training policy, the government and the Ministry

of Education direct and control teacher training institutions and the manner in which teachers are trained.

Teacher training education is contained and controlled by a tripartite organization comprised of the Ministry of Education, University of Zimbabwe, and the Teachers' Colleges (Chanakira, 1986, p. 138). The reason that this type of policy community exists is because these three institutions are largely government operated and they are the key inside actors in the policy community in teacher training policy.

The Government Directed Policy Community is appropriate for describing a policy community which does not forcefully exclude societal actors but instead relies heavily on government actors. The government co-opts the personnel most involved in teacher training, such as teacher training institute personnel, college personnel, and university training personnel. Although a few teacher training colleges are operated by private authorities and the others are operated by the government, both types must respond to directives from the government.

There is only a little consultation in the Government Directed Policy Community. In teacher training policy the government allows some dialogue and access to society but in terms of the final decision-making structure, society is to a medium degree excluded while governmental preferences reflect policy. The Government Directed Policy Community,

however, is not as highly exclusive as is the Closed Government Policy Community discussed in Chapter Four on university policy.

The shortage of professionally qualified secondary teachers has been a major concern of the Ministry of Education. As a result, the government has been concerned with trying to rapidly train teachers. It has found that distance education methods of training (non-institution based education that can be done at home) can train teachers more rapidly and more inexpensively than conventional institutional training. Teachers, headmasters, and key societal actors would largely prefer a more quality, institution-based teacher training program. However, because teacher training is determined by a Government Directed Policy Community, governmental preferences are mostly represented in policy. The government's priority in teacher training policy has been to increase the quantity of teachers trained.

A more in-depth discussion of how the needs of teachers and the needs of government differ on teacher training policy will be discussed in the preference section of this chapter. Next, it is important to consider, more closely, the role of the government in teacher training.

Discussion of Teacher Training

Benefits of Teacher Training

Different headmasters surveyed commented on the benefits of the government's teacher training efforts. A headmaster mentioned what the Central Government had done to help teacher training: "The Central Government has organized workshops at regional and national levels to improve teacher effectiveness in the different subjects."

Many headmasters complemented the government's efforts at teacher training and suggested that trained teachers help students do well on their O level exams. Specifically, one headmaster said the government has deployed more qualified staff to help students improve on O levels. Another headmaster said that one of the causes of success at his school is the fact that he can select his own staff.

Some headmasters applauded the government's efforts at teacher training. A headmaster from a poor rural District Council school said that the Central Government has given them trained teachers to help improve on O levels. Another echoed his/her sentiments by suggesting that the Central Government has tried to improve student scores on O levels by providing an increasing number of trained teachers each year.

According to Minister Chung, the government's third greatest need as discussed in Chapter Three, is teacher

training (personal communication, August 14, 1991). She emphasized, "Teacher training is a big concern, we still have 20,000 to 30,000 untrained teachers out of 80,000 teachers."

Different Teacher Training Programs

There are a variety of teacher training programs in Zimbabwe and the government, as will be discussed below, is moving toward the introduction of more distance education methods of teaching. In the 1991 interview with Bernard Gatawa, Regional Director for the Ministry of Education in Mashonaland East, I asked him about Zimbabwe's teacher training program. He said the teacher training program is not coping with demand; only 50% of primary teachers are trained and it is worse at the secondary level (personal communication, June 19, 1991).

Chung, in August 1991, said that the government has embarked on an Associate Teacher program which lasts for two years (personal communication, August 14, 1991). In this program, teachers stay at the school they teach at for two years; they only go away for three weeks of training. While at their school, they use distance education materials in their training.

The University of Zimbabwe has an in-service program for secondary school teachers. It is important to consider the role of the University of Zimbabwe in teacher training

as discussed by Dr. E. J. Chanakira, of the Ministry of Education (Chanakira, 1986, p. 137-141). He said that the Faculty of Education is made up of the Institute of Education, the Institute of Adult Education, the Science Education Center, and the Department of Education. The latter is responsible for post-graduate teacher training and education, preparing students for the Graduate Certificate of Education and offering courses leading to an M.Ed, with a particular emphasis on Curriculum Studies. Chanakira suggests that the approach of and the service offered by the University Department of Education is synchronized with the wishes of the government. This is one confirmation of the government directed teacher training policy.

Chanakira suggests that the Institute "fulfills its role as very largely a federation of the teachers colleges themselves" (Chanakira, 1986, p. 141). The Institute examines, teaches, and advises in the field of teacher education.

The Science Education Center at the University of Zimbabwe plays an important role in the training of science teachers. Chanakira discussed the close relationship between the University and government in teacher training policy,

It is essential that there should be close consultation and cooperation between the university and government to ensure a common purpose. This is formalized through the existence of a Liaison Committee, which consists of members of the faculty and representatives from the Ministry of Education and Culture, and which meets

regularly. Outside of this committee there is constant contact between the ministry and various sections of the faculty. . . . It is government, by and large, which operates the colleges and determines the direction of education, yet it is the institute which monitors the courses in the (associate) colleges, does the final assessment of students and awards the certificates (Chanakira, 1986, p. 141).

In addition to university institutional training, there are some teachers' colleges throughout the country for training secondary school teachers, which the Institute and government oversee.

Another teacher training program called ZINTEC combines aspects of distance education with aspects of institution based training. ZINTEC (Integrated National Teacher Education Program) has an in-service component for training primary school untrained teachers. The ZINTEC program was started in January 1981 in Zimbabwe. As of 1986, ZINTEC could train 6,000 untrained teachers a year; so over a five year period 30,000 students could be trained. According to Betty Jo Dorsey, of the University of Zimbabwe,

ZINTEC involves one term (16 weeks) of an intensive residential course. Thereafter the trainees were appointed to primary (and subsequently rural secondary) schools for 10 terms (3 1/2 years) of in-service distance education training. During the fourth year the last term was spent in a final intensive residential course. The program has had its problems, particularly with regard to the supervision of student trainees during their 3 1/2 years of in-service training. Nevertheless, the techniques involved have been successful enough to influence the more traditional methods of teacher training (Dorsey, 1989).

One year of ZINTEC has in fact produced more than double the number that the formal primary colleges would normally produce after three years.

Headmasters expressed their views of ZINTEC. Some headmasters were very supportive of ZINTEC. One headmaster said ZINTEC was a meaningful program. Another headmaster from a poor rural district council school said ZINTEC was effective in training teachers. He/she said it has saved the nation. The poor schools find more of a need for ZINTEC than others because they suffer from the greatest percentage of untrained teachers. One headmaster said that her teachers involved in ZINTEC have improved. Another said ZINTEC was successful because it offers teachers a lot of teaching practice. Yet, a headmaster does not think that ZINTEC is effective because he believes more teaching practice is important to teacher training programs.

Other headmasters identified problems with ZINTEC. A headmaster said ZINTEC is a short-term solution which must be phased out at the earliest opportunity. Another headmaster said ZINTEC concentrates too much on classroom teaching and neglects other important aspects of training. Other problems were identified with ZINTEC:

Administration of the system was less satisfactory. Many of the staff recruited to run the scheme had no primary school experience themselves. There was also insufficient coordination between the different sections at headquarters and between the ZINTEC colleges and the regional centers. This caused inefficiency and waste of resources. In addition, organizational and administrative problems led to the

collapse of the vacation courses and weekend seminars, and many of the training materials were said to be inappropriate to the student's needs...We observe that although it has suffered from some organizational problems, it is an imaginative program which aims to meet the urgent needs of Zimbabwe's post-independence expansion (Bray, et al., 1986, p. 165).

As a result of the experience gained through the ZINTEC program, Dorsey explains, "The ministry has decided to restructure teacher education in the conventional teacher-training college 4-year program, with the first and third years being full-time residential course years and the second and fourth years [being] in-service distance education training" (Dorsey, 1989).

Following the 1982 evaluation of ZINTEC, the mode of training non-university graduate primary and secondary teachers changed from three to four years. Boniface Samuel Runesu (B.S.R.) Chivore, a founding member of ZINTEC, has discussed ZINTEC and its impact on teacher training. He also served as Senior Education Officer and head of the Evaluation Unit, at the Ministry of Education, and in 1991 he was a lecturer in the Department of Teacher Education, Faculty of Education at the University of Zimbabwe. According to Chivore,

The success of ZINTEC revealed by the evaluation exercise resulted in the 'Zintecisation' of teacher training colleges. In place of the three year conventional training program, a four year course, [comprised of] first year residential, second year on-the-job, third year residential and fourth year-on-the-job has been instituted (Chivore, 1991, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 48-50).

Yet, in 1988, the training of non-university graduate teachers for conventional colleges went back to three years, said Chivore (1991, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 50).

According to Gatawa, in order to save money and time the four year teacher training program has been reduced to three years. The first year involves teacher training classes, in the second year student teachers are out in the field teaching, and in the third year they return for more teacher training classes. Next, it is important to examine societal and governmental preferences about teacher training policy to determine if they converge or diverge.

Discussion of Model

Preferences

As introduced briefly in Chapter Three, the type of teacher training that government and society want differs. Specifically, government wants more distance education while teachers favor institution-based training. While 78.5% of teachers interviewed preferred institute training over distance education methods, the government has chosen to accelerate distance education training, as evidenced by the new associate teacher training program discussed by Chung. Those teachers who preferred institute training offered the following reasons: Personal contact and supervision; availability of resources, books, teachers, and references; and the availability of more time to learn. Those teachers

that preferred distance education offered the following reasons: Practical teaching while learning, the large number of teachers that can be trained, and the chance to work at one's own pace.

If teachers prefer institute training, why has the government decided to accelerate distance education training? In order to find out, (B.S.R.) Chivore was consulted. He suggests that the shift from institutional training to more distance education was adopted for the following reasons: "Political; the need to meet secondary teacher shortage; professional; and financial" (Chivore, 1990, p. 83).

Chivore discusses each of these reasons in-depth. He explained how this decision was political,

Given the political decision to make secondary education accessible to more of the country's young people than was the case before Independence, and the strain this caused existing manpower, the idea that student teachers should serve as full-time teachers was seen as a way of alleviating the problem of secondary teacher shortage. With the large and rapid expansion of secondary education after independence, Zimbabwe was faced with a critical shortage of qualified teachers (Chivore, 1990, p. 83).

Professionally, the government believed that on-the-job training offered student teachers the opportunity for the trainee to integrate theoretical and practical learning (Chivore, 1990, p. 83). Finally, for cost reasons, the government wanted to implement more distance education. For instance, a four-year training program, in which students teach for two years and are trained in institutions for the

other two years, is cheaper than three years in an institute-based training program. This saves the government money so in turn they can train more teachers without necessarily building new colleges (Chivore, 1990, p. 84).

Others have confirmed that institute training is more costly throughout Africa than distance education programs. Tanzania's distance teacher training program claims it costs per trained teachers, were one-third of the cost of equivalent residential programs (Bray, et. al, 1986, p. 163 cites Greenland, 1982, p. 84 on Tanzania). Cost concerns are very important to the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe.

Chivore found, in a 1989 evaluation of student teachers, that 81.3% of the secondary student teachers preferred the three-year conventional teacher training to the new four-year training pattern (Chivore, 1990, p. 88). The four-year training pattern was composed of half distance education and half institutional training. In addition, Chivore found that the distance education component of the four-year training pattern was rated as being ineffective (Chivore, 1990, p. 92). He said that there is a difference between functions that the training colleges should carry out and the actual training non-graduate secondary student teachers receive in Zimbabwe (Chivore, 1990, p. 90). Chivore cited group discussion as the most effective teaching method. The lecture method, distance education,

and individual library work were rated least effective by secondary student teachers in 1989 (Chivore, 1990, p. 91).

Headmasters have various views about what makes good teacher training programs. Many wanted to focus on methodology and subject content, both of which are typically found in institute training. Seven headmasters wanted to focus on methodology in teacher training; six headmasters wanted to focus on subject content; four headmasters wanted to focus on practical classroom experience; three headmasters wanted to focus on psychology in teacher training programs.

They offered some interesting examples of what the most important aspects of a teacher training programs are. A headmaster said a teacher training program should include: (1) mastery of subject or specialization, (2) leadership training, (3) refinement in language training, (4) etiquette, and (5) involvement in extra-curricular activities. Another headmaster said the most important aspect of the teacher training program is an emphasis on the teaching of a complete, balanced person--mentally, socially, spiritually, and culturally. One headmaster said the most important aspect of a teacher training program is a committed teacher.

There were two important criticisms made by headmasters about teacher training policy. First, a headmaster said teacher training is undergoing too many changes, some of

which are detrimental (or the usefulness has never been fully tested). Second, a headmaster said what he dislikes about teacher training policy is that the students are not treated as students. They are put into schools to fill staffing gaps.

A comparison of headmasters' and teachers' views on teaching training reveals that they have some different concerns. As discussed, headmasters expressed the importance of methodology and subject content in teacher training programs. Yet, teachers expressed concern about their own access to teacher training and about the placement of teachers after they are trained. Two teachers surveyed complained about the inability of teachers outside of Harare, particularly in rural areas, to get further training. Another teacher suggested that university graduates should be sent to teach in rural areas. However, one teacher said he wants to be transferred out of a rural area after serving five years. Most teachers prefer to live in cities where they can have amenities of modern life.

In my teacher sample, 36.8% were university trained, 47% were trained at institutions, and 12% had no training. I asked teachers "What is the minimum level of schooling a secondary school teacher should have to be a good teacher." Fifty four point seven percent believe at minimum--institute training--and 22.2% said at minimum--university training.

I interviewed the Vice Principal of Mary Mount Teachers College, Mr. T. F. Mtengwa, to find out his needs and preferences. He said his teaching training program suffers from a shortage of equipment such as video equipment, library books, tape equipment, and audio visual equipment. He also mentioned that he has transport vehicles but needs fuel money to visit students' schools.

Hypothesis-Testing

Hypothesis two suggests that if the government's capability is greater than societal groups' capability then government controls the policy process. In the case of teacher training policy, the policy community is government directed because it operates the three main state institutions which control teacher training policy, the University, Teacher Colleges, and the Ministry of Education. However, state actors are also heavily involved in this policy. Societal actors do not organize to protest government policy.

Teacher training policy confirms hypothesis one. Policy issues that do not require extended capabilities beyond the government and in which the nature of the political good provides a decisive advantage to government results in governmental control of the policy process. However, teacher training does extend the capabilities of the government to a small degree and the nature of the

political good, training of teachers should provide a decisive advantage to societal actors. However, since societal groups such as teachers have chosen not to mobilize their resources and take advantage of the political good, the result is the government and state actors such as bureaucrats control the policy-making process. The government alone does not have the expertise to design teacher training policy and therefore it works with state actors and a few societal actors interested.

It is important to consider why there was not more societal opposition to the shift from institution-based training to distance education training. By exploring this issue, we can become aware of what conditions may deter society from mobilizing their resources. Society did not mobilize their resources and protest the shift from institution to distance training for the following reasons. First, as discussed earlier, teacher training education is contained and controlled by a tripartite organization comprised of the Ministry of Education, University of Zimbabwe, and the Teachers' Colleges (Chanakira, 1986, p. 138). As a result, these are the key inside actors in the policy community in teacher training policy, and societal opposition may feel threatened by this powerful group of inside actors.

Other reasons society did not mobilize their resources involve more personal reasons. Teachers who are already

trained tend to be less concerned with training issues than other issues that directly affect them. Those individuals presently being trained do not want to jeopardize their training or job placement by protesting. These reasons appear to explain why society has not mobilized an effective opposition to distance education policy, although the surveys reveal that societal actors favor institution-based training.

Evidence of the Government Directed Policy Community

Headmasters surveyed expressed their views on who was involved in teacher training programs and confirmed that teacher training policy was government directed. Teacher training involves the Ministry of Higher Education, and university personnel according to one headmaster surveyed. Another headmaster said there is very little societal input into teacher training policy.

Chivore, who served as an education officer in charge of evaluation at the ZINTEC National Center and the Head Office (Planning Division) of the Ministry of Education, discusses the importance of a ZINTEC evaluation in affecting education policy changes that support government preferences. According to Chivore, before ZINTEC's creation, there was no formal institutional evaluation in the Ministry of Education. After its creation, the Evaluation and Co-ordination Unit of ZINTEC was moved to the

Planning Division of the Ministry of Education at the Head Office in Harare (Chivore, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 33). Now the evaluation unit is a permanent feature in Zimbabwe's education system. It serves the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Chivore, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 52).

The fact that the Ministry has an evaluation unit is commendable. However, evaluations done by the government are clearly government directed and may be used to endorse or support policies that the government supports. Chivore suggested that the evaluations of ZINTEC in 1982 and 1986 led to a stronger emphasis on distance education by the Ministry, "Evaluations carried out stressed the importance of systematic, properly structured distance teacher education to ensure that the training of teachers on-the-job was effective. Distance education remained a permanent feature of teacher training" (Chivore, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 50). However, as discussed in the preference section of this chapter, societal actors such as teachers do not prefer distance education.

As a result of another evaluation, curriculum design for teaching training has been centralized and nationalized. The 1982 and 1986 evaluations of ZINTEC recommended that the ZINTEC National Center based in Harare should become the National Distance Education Center for all non-graduate teacher training colleges whether ZINTEC or conventional

(Chivore, "Curriculum Evaluation," p. 51). The Center would create modules for all teacher training colleges, private and government. The result has been government control of curriculum design in teacher training. This is a clear example of a Government Directed Policy Community in which decisions are made mostly by the government thereby benefitting the government.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION: THE POLICY COMMUNITIES APPROACH TO
STUDYING POLICY DECISION-MAKING

Overview

This dissertation has sought to analyze government-society interactions from the perspective of a policy communities approach, developed with the help of a range of other approaches: State-society approaches of Skocpol, Nordlinger, and Herbst, and Hayward's policy community approach. Existing approaches in the field were found to be insufficient as discussed in Chapter One. Three hypotheses were created to test the responsiveness of government to societal influence which is at the core of the policy communities approach. The case study of education policy in Zimbabwe was used to test the hypotheses. I will discuss in this chapter how much empirical support there is for the hypotheses and then analyze the results. Three hypotheses were created in order to predict if, when, and under what conditions government leaders will be responsive to societal influence.

In this chapter, I will evaluate the policy communities approach according to the research findings on education policy in Zimbabwe. The dissertation has tried to help

clarify concepts used in the study of policy-making under various conditions. Key distinctions between the different policy communities were identified in relation to degrees of consultation and openness.

I will discuss in detail in this chapter what this study has told us about state-society relations, policy processes, politics in Zimbabwe, and political democratization.

Conclusions

State-Society Relations

This section will explore what this study has told us about state-society relations. Also, I will discuss strengths and weaknesses of the policy communities approach used in this study. First, let us examine some strengths of the policy communities approach.

The state, as was discussed in Chapter One, is composed of government and non-government state actors. This separation is important because the state is not unified and monolithic as the state concept may imply. I have learned that an African government is not as monolithic and authoritarian as some scholars such as Clive Thomas (1984) have suggested. This dissertation has demonstrated that state actors such as District Council members, Parliamentarians, and bureaucratic actors are not always in agreement with the government but may be opposed to

government policy. There are often significant and divergent beliefs within the state and even within state agencies like the bureaucracy. These lessons about the state are important to consider and an analyst should seek out the views and preferences of different state actors because they are likely to find more diversity of belief than they may assume. Further, there are variations of democratic and authoritarian responses by the same government and it is important to understand the diversity.

Comparative Politics should not focus so much on the state as a unified actor operating against interests of society; rather, it should consider a policy community of actors, drawn from both society and government, that make policy. My approach contributes in a small way to a shift from state-centered studies in comparative politics by demonstrating the variations in government-society relations that exist when examined across particular policy domains. My study also goes beyond other policy community studies by suggesting that we need to think of policy community in plural rather than singular terms. In short, this approach sensitizes the researcher to the great empirical variations that exist in policy-making situations. It represents the reality of diverse policy-making better than the more extreme cases of state-centered or society-centered approaches. The policy communities approach allows for a middle ground between state-centered and society-centered

approaches in which government and society interact with each other.

Furthermore, the policy communities approach links preferences (opinion) in decision-making to the policy outcome. In some cases the government preferences are reflected in policy, in other cases societal preferences are reflected in policy, and in yet other cases both preferences are reflected in policy with the collaboration of state actors such as the bureaucracy.

The cases included in this study provide ample illustrations of this whole range. Partly because of the nature of the policy issue, its significance to particular actors, and the extent to which there is consensus concerning the rules of the game, different kinds of policy communities emerge and get institutionalized. What this "finer" focus achieves is to highlight the interactive dimension of state-society relations, something that state or society centered approaches fail to do.

Society is portrayed in the state-centered approach as being helpless or uninterested; however, society in the policy communities approach is found to be an important actor that interacts with the government. The cases of both curriculum policy and teacher training show the corporatist manner in which policy is being made in Zimbabwe. Even the university policy case, where government acted unilaterally

or autonomously, indicates the costs of ignoring the interactive dimension between state and society.

Before we can really argue whether the state is autonomous or not, we need much more data. This study has taken a small step in that direction. More specifically, as attempted here, we need to gather the views of actors in government, state, and society through in-depth research in order to fairly assess whose preferences are reflected in policy. It is also significant that Herbst and Mungazi, who did collect data from government, state, and society actors, did find that society plays an important role in policy-making. Like theirs, this study proves the inadequacy of the crude conceptualization adopted by Skocpol and Nordlinger.

Methodologically, I have found that the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods is useful to get a clear picture of policy-making in Zimbabwe. The central task in comparative analysis is to identify concepts and variables of broad relevance to the operation of social systems and then establish procedures for "equivalent" measurement of these variables within different systems in order to test propositions about the relationships among variables as described by Graesser (1978), and referred to in Chapter One. In this respect this study may serve as an example of how policy communities can be examined in other contexts.

I believe that one should use comparative concepts and methodology used in one part of world and apply them to other parts of the world. I have done this in two ways and I believe it is a strength of this study. First, I have applied Hayward's notion of policy community which he used in Europe to case studies in Africa. Second, I utilized Daniel Levy's work on university autonomy in Mexico and applied his concepts to university policy in Zimbabwe. With regard to both, I have found the concepts helpful.

The overall objective of this dissertation was to trace how education policies are shaped by relying on the perceptions held by key actors, governmental, state, and societal, and on secondary policy data. This dissertation has demonstrated that survey data and interview data can be gathered in Africa and it can offer insight into the policy-making process. The case studies too have hopefully contributed to a better understanding of the policy communities approach.

A weakness or a "cost" of this approach is that it emphasizes depth rather than breadth. It is easy to lose sight of the broader political context, because the approach encourages a focus on what is going on within each policy community. For this reason it is important that cases are selected in a representative fashion. Even so, there is a risk that one "gets lost" within each case study and treats

it sui generis. I am pointing this out to warn others who may wish to use this approach.

Another weakness is that I did not systematically survey parents throughout Zimbabwe. When I undertook my research I did not anticipate that parents would be such an important societal actor. Further studies need to incorporate views of more parents.

Policy Processes

This section will discuss policy processes, and the differences and similarities found when case studies are compared. A major theme in this dissertation is the extent to which the government responds to societal influences in policy-making. This issue is important in linking public opinion to policy in the policy process. My study has demonstrated that a person can measure public opinions and link them to policy. By examining the middle stage in the policy process--the decision-making stage--this dissertation has demonstrated that a person can link preferences with policy by considering the following important factors: resource mobilization, channels of communication, degree of consultation, openness of the policy community, and interaction among actors in decision-making.

Public opinion literature has rarely tried to link opinion to policy. The policy communities approach tries to rectify that. There is only a small literature base on the

fit between public opinion and public policy and it relates predominantly to the United States, as discussed below. Page and Shapiro find that in countries like the United States with open political competition, citizens' policy preferences have a substantial impact on what governments do (1992, p. 2). Alan Monroe found that on issues included in national opinion surveys, public policy in the United States corresponds to majority preferences about two-thirds of the time (1979 & 1983). Page and Shapiro found that significant changes in the public's preferences are followed by congruent changes in policy approximately two-thirds of the time (1983).

Page and Shapiro suggest that public opinion affects policy and that policy affects public opinion. They suggest that public policy, affected partly by public opinion, has feedback effects on world and national events and gradual social and economic trends which affect policy preferences (Page & Shapiro, 1992, pp. 353-354). They suggest that interpretations by experts and organized interests, the mass media, and policy actions affect public opinion (Page & Shapiro, 1992, p. 354).

Wright, Erikson, & McIver focus on the role of ideology and parties on public opinion and policy. The liberalism or conservatism of the public in different states strongly affects whether state policies enacted are liberal or conservative (Wright, Erikson, & McIver, 1987; Erikson,

Wright, & McIver, 1989). The problem with Erikson, Wright, & McIver's work is that they discuss the role of the party and public opinion on policy but they omit a thorough discussion of the mediating influence that interest groups may have on public policy in the states. In Zimbabwe, where there is only one major party (the government's party-- ZANU), the role of interest groups is more important than parties.

The degree of importance the government places on public opinion on a given policy makes a difference to how it is eventually formulated and implemented. For instance, public opinion was not very important to the government in the case of university policy but it was extremely important in the case of school fees. I have utilized concepts from other sub-fields in political science to help explain the policy process, such as public opinion and open and closed systems. Concepts such as open and closed from the public administration literature are relevant to understanding degrees of consultation and openness in policy communities.

In some cases the government is very responsive to societal input in policy-making and in other cases the government may try to forcefully exclude societal actors from influence in the policy-making process. According to student, teacher, and headmaster views expressed in Chapter Three the government is not as responsive to their needs as they want it to be. However, according to my interview with

Minister Chung, the government wishes to be responsive to societal influence in the policy process (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

What leads to democratic policy-making? This question is important in understanding policy processes. Six factors affect the emergence of policy communities that are democratic and responsive to societal influence: (1) the strength of societal groups in contrast to governmental actors, (2) the nature of the issue/political good to be decided, (3) the ability of societal and governmental actors to mobilize other state actors (such as the bureaucracy or the courts) on their behalf, (4) the existence of a crisis or non-crisis situation, (5) openness of policy communities, and (6) the existence of policy communities which have a high degree of consultation.

In situations where societal actors are very influential in making policy the following conditions typically exist: societal groups mobilize more powerful resources than the government, the issue to be decided is not being viewed by the government as a threat to its legitimacy, policy community channels of communication are open, there is a high degree of consultation between government and society, and societal actors will mobilize non-bureaucratic state actors on their behalf in a crisis. In a crisis situation the government tries to co-opt the bureaucracy to side with the government's position. A

crisis situation often leads to extreme forms of policy-making in which the government either dominates or society dominates in policy-making. However, in non-crisis situations policy-making often involves the bureaucracy, Government Minister, and societal groups as key actors. These factors are responsible for constructive relations between government, state, and, society. These factors promote interest group strength as do the factors mentioned below by Herbst.

Herbst suggests the following factors are important to interest group strength. He mentions organizational cohesion, economic power, lobbying ability, and the importance of access to officials making decisions so that interest groups can debate issues (Herbst, 1990, pp. 253-255). Herbst also mentions that for interest groups to be strong, interest group organizational structure must be strong compared to state institutions (Herbst, 1990, p. 253). He suggests that it is important to consider the way interest groups relate to the state causing a conflict so that the interest group can influence policy (Herbst, 1990, p. 253). Finally, Herbst mentions that it is important for interest groups to join forces with others (Herbst, 1990, p. 253). The ability of parents to join forces with Parliamentarians, District Councils, and the Supreme Court, increased the strength of the parents' groups. The nature of the issue was also important in this case because the

school fees were paid by the parents. Herbst was correct in his recognition of factors that promote interest group strength.

One factor that seems important in how open and democratic the policy-making process is involves the receptivity of the bureaucracy to societal views. For instance, in the case of curriculum policy, the bureaucracy was split between ideologues, which favored the governmental views, and educationalists, which favored societal views, and this split insured that societal views would be considered in the policy-making process. The views of the educationalists were not only popular with society but were also in accordance with educationalists' professional norms which encouraged a traditional academic education. This study has shown that the bureaucratic actors are not always sympathetic to the government's view but the bureaucracy may be split into different factions such as in the case of curriculum policy.

The role of the bureaucracy differed in the four policy communities. In the case of school fees, the District Councils, parents, and local communities were able to mobilize powerful state resources, Parliamentarians, and court officials. In the case of teacher training, the bureaucracy supported the government's view. In the case of university policy the administrative officers of the

Ministry of Higher Education were supportive of the government's policy.

Why do differences exist between the four different cases? When the government believes that its legitimacy and control are threatened in crisis situations the government will insist that the bureaucracy support its position. However, there are some issues in which the society is strongly interested and which does not threaten government legitimacy. In such a case, here represented by the curriculum policy, societal groups may be able to mobilize bureaucratic resources on their behalf. However, in a case in which societal groups do not actively pressure government to change, such as in the case of teacher training policy, the bureaucracy can be coerced to work with the government.

The most effective resource for the government or society is the formation of a strong alliance with other influential actors. For instance, in the case of school fees, societal actors utilized Parliamentarians, the Supreme Court, and District Councils to support its cause. In the case of teacher training, the government formed alliances with the University of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Education, and Teacher Training colleges.

The least effective resource, according to this study, appears to be the use of demonstrations, strikes, and protests. University students and teachers used demonstrations and protests to try to change university

policy but the government only reacted with more force. Strikes by teachers for higher pay only led to their dismissal.

In summary, it can be stated that the degree to which policy-making in a given situation is pluralist, corporatist, or authoritarian depends on the following factors: (1) the nature of the political good or issue, (2) interest group strength, (3) occurrence of a crisis, (4) role of public opinion and consultation, (5) whether the government feels its legitimacy is questioned by a policy, and (6) openness of the policy community. For example, the case of university policy confirms hypothesis three, by showing that in crisis situations, decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control. Decisions tend to derive from the government's concern about the stability or survival of the regime in power and its perceived legitimacy by the people.

Hypothesis three is repudiated, however, in the case of school fees. Neither the government nor society in the case of school fees were apparently concerned about political stability.

An interesting difference exists between the case of university policy and the case of school fees. It is the fact that the government does not feel its political legitimacy is threatened. The degree of openness in a policy community, therefore, is positively correlated to

government's perception of lack of threat to its own legitimacy.

Another factor that is related to how open the policy-making process is to societal actors is channels of communication. In the case of school fees, the government maintains open channels of communication between itself and society. However, in the case of university policy, the government closes the channels of communication between itself and society. In the case of curriculum policy the government realizes the need to appear responsive to society and therefore it is only a little exclusive and allows for some communication between society and government. In the case of teacher training, again, the government allows for a very limited amount of communication between itself and society.

Interestingly, one can make strong parallels between the way the colonial government handled the controversy over the Mangwende Rural Council's request to build a school and the Zimbabwean government's handling of the University of Zimbabwe crisis. The key finding is that both the Zimbabwean government and the colonial government in these cases decided to close channels of communication with society and not listen or acknowledge the demands of the societal groups. Thus, in my study, while the preferences of government and societal actors differed in both cases, and both sets of actors mobilized their resources, during

the policy process the government prevented the societal groups from participating. The result was an authoritarian government policy that lacked societal acceptance. Another result was that in both cases there were deep societal suspicions and mistrust of government policies, national political legitimacy was questioned, and major opportunities for meaningful dialogue were suppressed. These are some similarities between the two cases.

In the case of the Mangwende Rural Council when the Chief and village representatives met with the government, the latter was not willing to listen to the Council's needs. In the case of the University of Zimbabwe, as discussed in Chapter Four, there was a small flicker of hope that dialogue may work when Senior government Minister Joshua Nkomo pleaded with the students saying, "dialogue must be started." But, this was followed by government Minister Chung's denunciation of some of the students at the University of Zimbabwe. That speech simply escalated the conflict. She said, "If this is what we call our future leaders (speaking of University students), then I must say that this university is full of rubbish, and the government will not waste money on rubbish" (Mungazi, 1992, p. 109-110).

Grindle and Thomas (1991) argue that in crisis situations such as in hypothesis three the "state" is the most influential actor. In the case of university policy,

the government was the most influential actor in policy-making. In the case of school fees, however, which was of crisis proportions, the local communities and District Councils proved to be the most influential actors, not the state. Following parental and community pressures on the District Councils, court, and Parliamentarians, the government had to accept societal preferences on this issue.

Another factor that appears related to an open and democratic policy-making process is the nature of the political good, which Herbst also identified as being important (Herbst, 1990, p. 256). In the case of university policy, the government gives students grants to attend the university and expects obedience, whereas in the case of secondary school fees the parents pay high fees for their children to attend school and expect the money to be used wisely. The result is that the government feels that it has to pay attention to public opinion in the case of school fees, whereas it appears to believe that it can virtually ignore public opinion in the case of university policy.

The nature of the political good is also relevant to teacher training and curriculum policy. The government considers training to be very important so that the teachers can carry out the goals of the government. A goal of the ZINTEC teacher training program, which was discussed in Chapter Seven, was "to develop a teacher education program which is better placed in terms of better dissemination of

knowledge guided by socialism as a principle/ideology for Zimbabwe" (Chivore, 1990, p. 80). In light of such a statement, one would predict that the government wants to take a leading role in this policy so that it can further its ideological goals. This study suggests it does.

The government also wants to take a leading role in curriculum policy. Parents and societal groups, however, are very concerned with such issues because the type of curriculum offered affects students' life chances. The government must cooperate and try to work with society in creating an acceptable policy because it is important to both government and society.

All four case studies in the dissertation confirm hypothesis one which suggests that the outcome of the competitive interactions between government and society are partly determined by the issue and political good. For instance, if a policy issue requires the capability of government and society and the nature of the political good does not provide either with a decisive advantage then policy-making is controlled by both, such as in the case of curriculum policy in Chapter 6.

The extent to which the policy situation can be characterized as "crisis" or "non-crisis" is also important, as evidenced by hypotheses two and three. In hypothesis two, the crucial variable in a 'non-crisis' situation was the societal groups' capability vis-a-vis government's

capability. In the case of teacher training policy, the government's capability is greater than the societal groups' because the government operates the three main state institutions which control teacher training policy, and the societal groups have not organized to oppose government policy.

Hypothesis three suggests that in "crisis-ridden" situations, decision-making tends to be dominated by concern about major issues of political stability and control. This was the case with university policy but not with school fees. The case of school fees demonstrated that in a crisis situation, political stability does not have to be an issue and the government does not have to be autonomous. The school fees case demonstrated that Grindle and Thomas were incorrect to argue that in crisis situations the state is the most influential actor. The school fees case demonstrates that the government can be responsive to societal influence if the government feels its legitimacy is not threatened.

Similarities exist because in all four cases in the policy process, societal and governmental actors that have divergent preferences mobilize their resources, and the following factors affect who controls the policy process: strength of the societal groups versus the government, whether government perceives its legitimacy is challenged,

the existence of a crisis or non-crisis situation, and the importance of the issue and the political good.

Politics in Zimbabwe

This section will offer a discussion of three major issues related to Zimbabwean politics. First, I will examine the role of interest groups in Zimbabwe. Second, I will discuss how politicized the policy-making process is in Zimbabwe. Third, I will analyze how well policies are managed in Zimbabwe.

Interest groups play an important role in politics in Zimbabwe. Jeffrey Herbst correctly recognizes the importance of different interest groups in Zimbabwe (Herbst, 1990, p. 11). He suggested that the first component that should be examined when considering autonomy is the match-up between interest groups and state institutional structures (Herbst, 1990, p. 253). While I agree with Herbst that it is important to examine interest groups and institutions such as the bureaucracy, it is also important to examine government political actors and societal actors that are not members of interest groups. I have focused on the AUT (Association of University teachers), SRC (Student Representative Council), NASH (National Association of Secondary Headmasters), and PTA's (Parent Teacher Associations).

Influential opposition groups have arisen in Zimbabwe such as university students, labor unions, mainstream Christian churches, and the businesspersons (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 14). The role of university students and the SRC was discussed extensively in Chapter Four. The students also had support from the AUT. The students, teachers, deans, administration, and the Senate and the Council of the University of Zimbabwe united to form a more powerful societal interest group to make their point of view known to the government. Together they formed the University of Zimbabwe Bill Committee (UZBC).

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is an influential interest group which supported the plight of university students and teachers. The university community and ZCTU have criticized the Mugabe government for economic restructuring which they say hurts Zimbabwe's poor the most. They criticized the government for high prices, and higher health and education fees. Mugabe was so fearful of opposition from labor that he banned the unions from having nation-wide demonstrations (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15).

Black and white businesspersons have put their support behind groups looking for an alternative to the Mugabe government. They have done so because of their frustration with government's continued control of economic power

although the government claims it was restructuring the economy (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15).

Mainstream Christian churches have been important interest groups which have criticized the government for human rights' abuses and corruption. They have been vocal about their disapproval of the way the government handled the university crisis. The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and other Protestant denominations have criticized the government's human rights record. The churches and legal community have created Zimrights, a locally based human rights watchdog (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15).

Interest groups play an important role in the democratization process in Africa. Society has mobilized for accountable government throughout Africa. According to Larry Diamond "Human rights and election monitoring organizations, as well as the informal coalitions of student, trade union, religious, environmental, and professional organizations," (Diamond, 1992, p. 40) have toppled dictators. In Zimbabwe, these organizations and coalitions have demanded that the government be accountable to the people. What is most interesting about these interest groups is that if they successfully unify and combine forces they can form a strong coalition that would pose a real threat to the present government's ability to stay in power. In fact, these groups have begun to unify.

The Forum for Democratic Reform (Forum) is led by the members of business, legal, religious, and labor groups.

A similar combination of forces--students, labor, business, and churches joined forces in Zambia's Movement for a Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in 1991 to defeat Kenneth Kaunda's government (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15). The key to democratization in Zambia was the involvement of a broad range of interest groups (Novicki, 1992, p. 15).

Meldrum predicts that the Forum could become a very powerful group, "With backing from such a broad spectrum of Zimbabwean society, the Forum could well follow the example of Zambia's Movement for Multi-party Democracy and become a coalition of all forces opposed to the Mugabe government" (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15).

A similar coalition, FORD (Forum for Restoration of Democracy), exists in Kenya, and there are similar coalitions in other African countries (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 15). FORD, however, has split into two groups--FORD Kenya and FORD Asili--and therefore poses less of a challenge to the government of Kenya.

Moyo, lecturer in political science at the University of Zimbabwe, suggests that Mugabe's party has become so unpopular that it is very likely that Mugabe would lose an election (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16). Until recently, many Zimbabweans did not think there was a leader who could replace Mugabe. However, retired Chief Justice

Enoch Dumbutshena, patron of the Forum, is well respected in Zimbabwe. The Forum is a discussion group which will most likely become a political party. Forum leaders are allegedly preparing to challenge the Mugabe government in national elections in 1995 (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16).

Next, it is important to consider how politicized policy-making is in Zimbabwe. To do this, the role of the bureaucracy, Parliament, Cabinet, public opinion, and Supreme Court will be examined.

Herbst finds the bureaucracy to be very important in policy-making in Zimbabwe (Herbst, 1990, p. 260). I agree that bureaucracies are important but this study has found that the existence of a crisis or non-crisis situation affects how politicized policy-making is in Zimbabwe. For instance, in non-crisis situations the bureaucracy is very involved. Yet, in crisis situations, the government politicizes decision-making and often demands that the bureaucratic actors follow the political goals of the government this ignites resistance among societal interest groups.

This study has demonstrated that the Parliament has a small role to play in policy-making. While the Parliament has almost no role to play in non-crisis policy-making, the Parliament has a small role to play in crisis-situations, such as the case of school fees and university policy. Two

of my four case studies reveal a role for Parliamentarians in education policy decisions. For instance, a few Parliamentarians spoke out fervently against government university policy. In the case of school fees, Minister Chung said she was responsive to Parliamentary concerns. She suggested that she would wait until public opinion in society and in Parliament changed before she would try to introduce a bill to gain control of school fees.

Herbst says Parliament has little incentive to intervene in bureaucratic decisions (Herbst, 1990, p. 241-242). This appears to be true in my study in cases of non-crisis, teacher training and curriculum policy. Herbst also found interest groups to be more important actors than Parliamentarians in policy-making. He found that powerful interest groups have developed alternative lines of communication with government which have bypassed the role of Parliamentarians (Herbst, 1990, p. 238). Herbst also found that most Parliamentarians are hand-picked by the politicians in the city and do not represent the people (Herbst, 1990, p. 239). The Parliament in Zimbabwe is weak,

It spends almost all its time listening to its members individually paying homage to the President of the country. It is highly patronised and individual members do not possess an independent political base let alone a popular one. A large proportion of the MPs are also either ministers or deputy ministers and twelve are nominees of the President, negating completely the concept of Parliament as an independent institution from government (Makamure, 1991, p. 110).

As a result, Herbst does not believe Parliamentarians play a significant role in policy-making. Yet, in my study, I have found that Parliamentarians have become more vocal in opposition to government policy, particularly in cases of crisis. Herbst did not discuss the difference between crisis and non-crisis.

This difference between Herbst and my view of Parliament may well be explained by the fact that Herbst's study was undertaken from 1986-1988 which was a period of popularity for the Zimbabwean government and therefore less Parliamentary opposition to the government would be expected. My study, on the other hand, was undertaken from 1989-1991, a period in which there was more opposition to the government by society and Parliament. It is clear that the Parliament is not involved in normal education policy-making but it is involved in crisis situations.

The Cabinet has a role to play in decision-making, particularly in crisis situations.

Mugabe is not a strongman-style leader. He relies on reaching a consensus in his cabinet and party politburo for policy decisions. His party remains divided by petty but bitter rivalries, so decision-making is cumbersome (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16).

Yet, "this old-line Eastern European style of government has tied Mugabe's hands so that he has failed to cope with the country's new pressures, most particularly the popular demand for a more responsive government" (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16). The case of university policy-making

is instructive in this regard. Mugabe relied on advice from his cabinet and party politburo when he decided how to react to the crisis at the university.

The Supreme Court has an important role to play in Zimbabwe--to make sure political decisions by the government are fair. According to Diamond, the judiciary needs to be free from political pressure and manipulation so it can punish wrongdoing (Diamond, 1992, p. 40). The Supreme Court in Zimbabwe is able to influence policy-making that opposes the government's position. This is because the Supreme Court, unlike an institution such as the Parliament, is strong and independent of the government. The court system serves as a check on the government's political goals, especially in crisis situations. For example, University students were expelled for organizing a march on Parliament in 1992. Three students from the SRC leadership however have been reinstated following a Supreme Court order. The court said the university had violated their rights to due process by not going through the proper disciplinary procedures and by not giving the students access to lawyers.

It is interesting to note that Forum's leader Dumbutshena, was the first black Supreme Court Chief in the independent system and that he was appointed by Mugabe. Dumbutshena was well respected and rendered several opinions that went against the interests of the government.

In the case of school fees, the Supreme Court displayed its independence from the government and ruled that local communities would control school fees, not the government. The Court, in the corruption car scandal, discussed earlier found government ministers guilty of wrongdoing.

It appears that most political institutions in Zimbabwe; the Parliament, party, and cabinet stay out of education policy-making unless a crisis arises. The Supreme Court gets involved in crisis situations also. Public opinion was important in the case of school fees and in curriculum policy. Yet, all the education policies studied reveal a degree of politicizing in the sense that the government has ideological and political goals which are at odds with societal groups. Even in a non-crisis situation like curriculum policy, the government wants to impose its 'socialist' ideology on the curriculum.

Next, it is important to consider how well policies are managed in Zimbabwe. At the center of the issue of how well policies are managed in Zimbabwe is the issue of good governance. It is defined by Diamond as, "effective, responsive, and accountable management of public affairs" (Diamond, 1992, p. 40). How responsive is the government to people's demands and wishes is an important question to ask? This is because good governance has been a major reason for the success of a democracy (Diamond, 1992, p. 40).

The issue of responsiveness of the government to societal influence has been crucial to this dissertation. I believe responsiveness can be measured in degrees as represented by the four policy communities. The government can be very, somewhat, a little, or not at all responsive to the people. My study differs from Skocpol's in the sense that I am not concerned with whether the government is autonomous or whether society is, because these are extremes, rather I am interested in investigating to what degree the government is responsive to society. Interest groups and society at large may have different goals.

The case studies examined in this dissertation have revealed the following things about good governance. If good governance is measured by how responsive the policies are according to societal actors, I would have to conclude from this study of education policies that there is a wide range of responsiveness. One test for whether or not there is good governance is whether the government reacts readily to societal influences in policy. In the case of school fees, societal preferences were reflected in policy. Also, in many of the curriculum panels, the government responds to societal preferences. Therefore, the government is responsive to societal influences in making policy.

In terms of teacher training, university, and practical education policy, the government has not been very responsive to societal preferences, but to different degrees

in each. In terms of practical education curriculum, the government is somewhat responsive to society in that they were willing to compromise on policy and not implement a full-pledged practical education program. Whereas in teacher training policy, the government was not very responsive to societal needs for more institution-based training. In the case of university policy, the government was not at all responsive to the needs of members of the university community. The examination of societal preferences and whether they have been reflected in policy has been the most important issue in the dissertation.

According to the surveys, the government is not as responsive to headmasters, teachers, and students as they want the government to be. However, PTA's, NASH, and teacher organizations, have been important means for societal actors to make their concerns known to the government. Curriculum committees also represent a wide-range of societal actors such as the following: Teachers, teachers in charge of departments at schools, teachers training college subject teachers, related university departments, industry representatives, and curriculum specialists.

School-based societal actors can make their concerns known to government through a chain of command from the headmaster to local education officers, to regional officers, or to the national government. Also, parents,

teachers, students, and headmasters have recognized that they can mobilize state actors such as District Council members and Parliamentarians on their behalf. School-based societal actors such as teachers, students, and headmasters indicated in the survey that they wanted the government to find out their needs more regularly through surveys, interviews, or more frequent visits.

The issue of how responsive the government is to society is also partly determined by the extent to which societal actors mobilize their resources and pressure the government. Teacher training policy is government directed but it appears that there is not a concerted effort by societal groups to change policy. Whereas, there was a concerted effort by society to challenge the government on the issue of school fees.

The government perceives that it is responsive to society. Minister Chung suggested that the government is responsive to society as evidenced by the government's willingness to listen to where parents want schools built, to respect the court ruling to allow local communities to control school fees, to respond to teachers concerns about bias in hiring, and to incorporate teachers' concerns into policy (personal communication, August 14, 1991).

How well policies are managed is important. Complaints have been made about the management of policies in Zimbabwe, particularly about official corruption and government delays

(Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16). The government and local communities accused each other of mismanagement of school fees as discussed in Chapter 5. Some opposition members have charged the government and bureaucracy with being too large and inefficient. The Forum wants to reduce the number of cabinet members. Yet, in response to any political challenge, Mugabe has brought new people into his government with the result that he now presides over a swollen cabinet of 52 ministers and deputy ministers (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16). They administer a similarly bloated civil service which has grown inefficient and corrupt (Meldrum, 1992b, July-August, p. 16). Society has perceived that the government is corrupt, inefficient, unresponsive, and as a result society has demanded political democratization in Zimbabwe.

Political Democratization

This section will focus on the following important questions. How democratic is Zimbabwe? What can we expect in Zimbabwe following growing political democratization? What does democratization mean for policy-making in the education field?

The last few years throughout Africa have been a period of liberalization and democratization. Zimbabwe has not been unaffected by this new "wind of change." However, President Mugabe has been rather cool towards the idea of

multi-party democracy. The year of 1992 was a critical year for the government of Zimbabwe because societal actors complained loudly about the government's Structural Adjustment Program, about the need for more drought relief from the government, and University students demanded higher grants. The latter, as discussed in Chapter Four, even challenged pressure groups in Zimbabwe to unite to draft a new and more democratic constitution for Zimbabwe.

Free and fair elections have often been considered a prerequisite to democracy. Moyo says "the determination of whether a country is democratic or not is ultimately settled by the country's electoral system" (Moyo, 1992, p. 164). Herbst, as discussed above, found the consideration of interest groups and state structures to be particularly important in Africa because there has seldom been any other system (such as a voting system) through which society's views can be presented to the government (Herbst, 1990, p. 253). This has been the case in Zimbabwe because of the restrictions put on opposition parties by the government. According to Meldrum "Zimbabwe has operated very much as a de facto one-party state which victimizes the opposition and tightly controls the news media" (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 52).

The government has made it difficult for opposition parties to hold meetings and campaigns. For example, during the 1990 elections, ZUM meetings were broken up by police

and people attending those meetings were arrested and held for 24 hours without charges (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 53). Many Zimbabweans fear government retaliation from the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO). Despite a government crack-down on opposition parties, there has been an upsurge in opposition party politics (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 52) and this has been a sign of democratization in Zimbabwe.

ZANU has for 13 years continued to win presidential elections and most parliamentary elections. In Zimbabwe, voter apathy has become an important feature of the political system. In an April 1993 bi-election there was only a 10-30% voter turnout, of which 80% voted for ZANU-PF. Widespread voter apathy is a form of political opposition as discussed by Hirschman in his discussion of the exit option (Hirschman, 1970). Whether the Forum, when it becomes a political party, can mobilize citizens to vote and end the apathy will be interesting to watch.

It is important to mention a few cautionary points to consider that are likely to affect the growth of the Forum. Many of the leading members of the Forum are Ndebele. The Ndebele ethnic group represents 19% of Zimbabwe's population; however, there are a large number of Shona and some whites in the Forum. ZANU-PF receives tax-payer funded money and the Forum does not. The Political Parties Funding Act which was passed recently in Zimbabwe gives taxpayers'

money to the leading parties who have over a certain percentage of seats in Parliament. Only ZANU has received money because they control most of Parliament. ZANU-PF also controls a substantial part of the press in Zimbabwe. Press freedom is essential so it can expose government wrongdoing and this can lead to accountability (Diamond, 1992, p. 40).

The independent press in Zimbabwe has, according to journalist Meldrum, become "more lively and [has] exposed government misdoings" (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 54). The independent monthly magazines, Horizon and Parade and bi-monthly Moto have attracted a wide readership. Also, the Financial Gazette, the Weekend Gazette, and the new Sunday Times are popular in Zimbabwe (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 54).

Moyo and Herbst strongly differ in their belief about the importance of multi-partyism to democracy in Zimbabwe. Moyo contends that competition between political parties is good for democracy. He suggests that the more democratic the electoral system is, the more likely that those that govern will be sensitive to the wishes of the electorate in policy-making (Moyo, 1992, p. 164). Moyo believes political parties are important because they provide the voter with the possibility to choose a range of policies rather than just one policy (Moyo, 1992, p. 33-34).

Conversely, Herbst says that a change to multi-partyism should make no real difference in how government makes basic allocation decisions because parties do not matter much (Herbst, 1990, p. 239). He believes the party does not have technical expertise to interfere with the bureaucracy (Herbst, 1990, p. 240). Herbst says ZANU lacks structure, personnel and a defined policy agenda to have a significant role in decision-making processes (Herbst, 1990, p. 241-242). I found, however, that in crisis situations the party is involved in decision-making, particularly in the case of university policy, where the opposition party, ZUM in this case, sided with students and teachers and demanded academic freedom. Yet, Herbst thinks parties have become irrelevant in so many of Zimbabwe's decision-making processes (Herbst, 1990, p. 239).

The difference between Moyo and Herbst's view of the role of the party can partly be explained by the different time periods their studies were conducted. Herbst carried out his research in 1987 during the period in which unity talks between ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU resulted in a united party in which an important step towards the creation of a one-party state was taken. Herbst carried out his research in 1986 and 1987, and a little in 1988, which was before the growth of opposition parties in Zimbabwe. Conversely, Moyo undertook his research between 1989 and 1991, a period of growth in multi-partyism in Zimbabwe. ZUM was not created

until 1988, and it did not gain a national reputation until 1989. Therefore, Herbst's view of the party is time-bound.

Opposition parties such as the Democratic party were not created until 1991 and the United Front was launched in 1992. The United Front would unify a number of small opposition parties into a broad alliance, such as Ndabaningi Sithole's Zanu-Ndonga party, the United African National Congress, and ZUM. Yet, the problem with these parties, according to Jonathan Moyo, is that "Most are worn-out parties from the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia days" (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 56). Many Zimbabweans are skeptical of parties from the 1979 Zimbabwe-Rhodesia days because they believe they had alliances with the former white Rhodesian government of Ian Smith.

I would agree with Moyo that ZUM's aim to revive multi-party politics in Zimbabwe did succeed (Moyo, 1992, p. 42). But, the revival of multi-partyism also owes a debt to members of Mugabe's own ZANU party who refused to allow him to create an one-party state. After the 1990 elections in which Mugabe's ZANU party won most of the parliamentary seats, Mugabe was faced with a revolt from his own ZANU-PF, whose Politburo and Central Committee refused to grant Mugabe the authority to create a one-party state. Apparently, Mugabe's own party believed Mugabe was going against the tide of reform and in September 1990 Mugabe

ended his attempt to legalize the one party state (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1992, p. 38).

What does all this say about democracy in Zimbabwe? If I assess the prospects for sustainable change of regime in terms of the fragmentation of the incumbent elite and the emergence of an alternative ruling coalition, as Bratton and Van de Walle suggest (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1992, p. 31), I would be cautiously optimistic about the prospects for change. Tekere's departure from ZANU and the refusal of ZANU's Central Committee and Politburo to allow Mugabe to form a one-party state are examples of fragmentation of the incumbent elite. Yet, the ruling elite has not extensively fragmented.

The potential is also there for the Forum to emerge as an alternative ruling coalition. In Chapter Four, I discussed the argument made by Bratton and Van De Walle which is as follows: "Although an alternative ruling coalition did not fully emerge everywhere, the political ideas to support such a coalition did make an important first appearance" (Bratton and Van De Walle, 1992, p. 54). Factors at play there include: protests by university students and teachers, and Parliamentarians over academic freedom; ZUM's call for multi-party democracy; and the creation of the Forum for Democratic Reform (Forum) in May 1992. These groups expressed similar political ideas and could form the core of an alternative ruling coalition.

My study confirms that in the case of university policy, students and teachers emerged as key actors in demanding democratic change and an alternative ruling coalition in Zimbabwe. Dumbutshena said that a grand political alliance is possible, "People are fed up and are just thinking they can build a grand political alliance to change the government" (Meldrum, 1992a, March-April, p. 55). Zimbabwe is on its path to democratization.

With this increasing pressure for democratization, the government has tried to tighten its grip on power. For instance, the government demonstrated that it was not willing to tolerate individuals who criticize its policies, as exemplified by the government's use of riot troops at the University and by the suspension of the SRC.

Although the government is ready to use repressive measures to protect its own position, growing political democratization in Zimbabwe elicits greater governmental responsiveness to powerful societal pressures. The government may opt for a less repressive approach as its costs grow with increasingly popular expectations of democratic behavior. For example, it can use exhortation as it did in the case of the science kits. This way government and society may more often interact in mutually rewarding ways, thereby increasing the responsiveness and effectiveness of public policy-making.

What does democratization mean for policy-making in the education field? One implication of democratization in policy-making in the education field, might be a return to a greater focus on academic education as opposed to practical/technical education. The leading opposition groups to government, Forum and ZUM, are likely to support more "capitalist" policies and academic curriculum than the present government offers. As unemployment worsens in Zimbabwe, the curriculum issue is likely to be at the center of a more democratic policy-making context.

The government is likely to continue to view academic freedom as a threat to its legitimacy because it associates university student and teacher demonstrators as an opposition force to its power. The next elections will be held in 1995 and if the government does not increase communication and respond to societal pressures, it appears that it will have the strongest opposition challenge since independence in 1980. If President Mugabe continues to pursue the goal of national unity before democracy, as Mandaza and Sachikonye (1991, p. 5) believe is common in Africa, this will probably lead to a reinforcement of societal pressure to democratize first. The notion of the one-party state has very little societal support in Zimbabwe today, and support for organizations that call for democracy and multi-party politics, such as the Forum, has grown.

Assuming continued pressures for political democratization, we can expect a further disintegration of the ruling party's power. Levine (1988) is correct, as suggested in Chapter Four, when he says the resurrection of civil society helps empower transitions to democracy.

Finally, it should be noted again that if one really wishes to better understand the dynamics of political transitions in a democratic direction, one needs more detailed studies of the kind done here. They can demonstrate what might with Kingdon's words be labelled "windows of opportunities" for more open and consultative policy-making (Kingdon, 1984). Neither Zimbabwe nor the rest of Africa is either state controlled or anarchic. The political reality in all these countries is likely to encompass options for divergent approaches to solving public problems. This study has certainly confirmed that with reference to Zimbabwe.

8. If you were free to choose **any** job that you wished, what kind of job would you like to have more than another? Explain the job fully

9. Do you think education policy should be controlled and made at the
 1 ___ National level 2 ___ Regional level 3 ___ Local level

10. Of course, we cannot always choose the kind of job we should like best of all. From your experience and that of your friends who have left secondary school already, what kind of job do you think you are most likely to get in fact if you leave school after you have completed secondary school? _____

11. Will you take your O level exams

- 1 ___ Yes
 2 ___ No
 3 ___ Maybe

12. Put a number 1 next to the item that you think is most important in helping you prepare for the O level exams. Number 2 should be the second most important item. Number 3 should be the third most important. Number 4 should be the fourth most important. Number 5 should be the fifth most important.

- A ___ Textbooks
 B ___ Old O level exams
 C ___ Teachers lectures
 D ___ Studying with friends
 E ___ Other books, specify _____
 F ___ Other means _____
 G ___ Not sure

13. Discuss how your school prepares you for the O level exams, how much class time do you spend preparing and what books do you use? Are the books available?

14. Do you feel that you are more advantaged, just as advantaged or disadvantaged from other students in Zimbabwe in preparing for the O level exams?

- 1 ___ More advantaged than most students, why? _____
 2 ___ Just as advantaged than most students, why? _____
 3 ___ Not as advantaged as other students, why? _____

15. What do you need that will help you prepare better for the O level exams?

16. List the different textbooks you use in school?

17. Who controls school fees?

- 1 ___ National gov't. 2 ___ District council 5 ___ Other, who?
 3 ___ Headmaster 4 ___ Regional gov't. _____

18. Textbook costs:

- 1 ___ I paid for my own textbooks, and each one cost _____
 2 ___ I own my own textbooks and the government paid for them
 3 ___ I share my textbooks with other students, if so how many
 and how many hours a week do you get to see them _____
 4 ___ I do not have any textbooks to use

19. What do you dislike about your textbooks? What would you add to your textbooks if you could write a textbook? _____

20. How important do you think textbooks are to your education?

- 1 ___ Very important
 2 ___ Important
 3 ___ Somewhat important
 4 ___ Not very useful
 5 ___ Not helpful at all

21. What about your textbooks is important to you?

22. How will your textbooks be helpful to you? Put a 1 on the line next to the most important way your textbooks help you. Then put a 2, 3, 4 next to the following most important ways. Number 5 should be placed on the line next to the least help textbooks provide.

- a ___ Prepare for O level exams
 b ___ Help me learn information important for a job
 c ___ Teach me about my country
 d ___ Help me do well in class
 e ___ Other, specify _____

23. How many hours a week do you read textbooks?

- 1 ☐ 1-2 hours
- 2 ☐ 3-4 hours
- 3 ☐ 5-6 hours
- 4 ☐ 7-or more hours
- 5 ☐ Never

24. Who selects the books you use in the class?

- 1 ☐ Headmaster
- 2 ☐ Teacher
- 3 ☐ Ministry of Education
- 4 ☐ District Council
- 5 ☐ Not sure

25. Do you have a library in your school? If so, how often do you use it?

- 1 ☐ 1-2 hours a week
- 2 ☐ 3-4 hours a week
- 3 ☐ 5-6 hours a week
- 4 ☐ 7-8 hours a week
- 5 ☐ Have a library in school but I never use it
- 6 ☐ Have a library in school but I use it when teacher says to
- 7 ☐ I do not have a library in my school

26. If you have a library in your school, about how many books does it have?

- 1 ☐ About 10 or fewer books
- 2 ☐ About 11-50 books
- 3 ☐ About 51-200 books
- 4 ☐ About 201-500 books
- 5 ☐ Over 500 books
- 6 ☐ Do not have a library
- 7 ☐ Do not know how many books

27. What types of books do you read from your school library or would you want to read if you had a library? _____

28. Do you have enough paper and pencils, and pens? List what you do not have enough of? _____

29. List the five most important things you need from your government to make your education better?

- 1st _____
 2nd _____
 3rd _____
 4th _____
 5th _____

30. Do you feel that the education you get at your school is worse or better than other students in Zimbabwe, and why? _____

- 1 ____ Much better
 2 ____ Better
 3 ____ About the same
 4 ____ Worse
 5 ____ Much worse

31. What suggestions would you make to your school and government to improve your education? _____

32. What do you like best about your teacher? _____

33. Who should decide school policy?

- 1 ____ Headmaster
 2 ____ Central government in Harare
 3 ____ District Council
 4 ____ Teachers
 5 ____ Parents
 6 ____ Community groups
 7 ____ Combination of people such as _____
 8 ____ Other _____
 9 ____ Not sure

34. What do you dislike about your teacher? _____

35. Does your teacher encourage you to? Put an X next to more than one, if appropriate.

- 1 ____ Work in small groups
 2 ____ Ask questions in class
 3 ____ Read from books during class
 4 ____ Listen and take notes during the entire class
 5 ____ Other, comment _____

36. Do you think your teacher is well trained to teach class?

- 1 ___ Highly trained
- 2 ___ Trained
- 3 ___ Not well trained
- 4 ___ Not trained
- 5 ___ Not sure

37. What do you think the purpose of education is? _____

38. Rate what is most important to you in improving the quality of education?

- 1 ___ Teacher training
 - 2 ___ Small classes
 - 3 ___ Textbooks
 - 4 ___ O level exam preparation
 - 5 ___ Job preparation
 - 6 ___ Other, what _____
-

39. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your teacher? _____

40. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the quality of your education? _____

41. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your textbooks? If you do not have any, rate 0. _____

42. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your school's efforts to prepare you for the O level exams? _____

43. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the government's efforts to improve your school and education? _____

44. Give examples of what the government has done to improve your education. _____

45. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your community's (or village) efforts to improve your school? _____

46. Give examples of whom in your community has made efforts to improve your education and how they have done so. _____

47. Do people in your community have much impact on influencing government education policy?

- 1 ___ Members of my community have a lot of influence in determining government education policy. Members of my community who are influential are people such as: _____

They speak to the following members of government: _____

- 2 ___ Members of my community have some influence in determining government education policy. Members of my community who are influential are: _____

They speak to the following members of government: _____

- 3 ___ Members of my community have no influence in determining government education policy.

- 4 ___ I do not know.

48. Do you think the quality of education is better in urban areas than in rural areas?

- 1 ___ Yes, education is better in urban areas
 2 ___ Education is better in rural areas
 3 ___ Education is the same in rural and urban areas
 4 ___ Do not know

Why? _____

49. Do you think that when the central government decides education policy they consider needs of students, teachers, and societal groups enough?

- 1 ___ Yes
 2 ___ Sometimes
 3 ___ No
 4 ___ Do not know

50. Any other comments below? _____

51. What does your father do for a living? If he has died, what did he do when alive?

- 1 ☐ Farmer/peasant/communal
- 2 ☐ Teacher
- 3 ☐ Business/bank
- 4 ☐ Craft/trade
- 5 ☐ Sells at market
- 6 ☐ Mechanic/repairs
- 7 ☐ Government (not teacher) what? _____
- 8 ☐ Professional (doctor, lawyer, nurse, engineer)
- 9 ☐ No work
- 10 ☐ Other, what? _____

52. What education has your father completed?

- 1 ☐ No school
- 2 ☐ Some primary
- 3 ☐ Finished primary
- 4 ☐ Some secondary
- 5 ☐ Finished secondary
- 6 ☐ A level
- 7 ☐ University
- 8 ☐ Other

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX B
TEACHERS SURVEY--STUDY OF ZIMBABWEAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This is not a test so there are no right and wrong answers and nobody can fail it, so we are anxious that you answer the questions as carefully as you can. As you will see we shall not ask you for your name so answer honestly. Above all do not answer questions in the way that you think other people want you to answer them. As you know, your name will not be placed on the question sheet so answer what **you** truly think. Thank you very much. Place a **X** on the line that is the right answer.

1. Interview Number _____
2. Name of School _____
3. Location of School _____
4. Where do you live now?
 Town or village _____
 District _____
 Region _____
5. Grade or Form level in School you teach _____
6. Do you teach at primary or secondary school? _____
7. Subjects of class that you teach _____
8. Sex 1 ____ Male 2 ____ Female
9. Optional. What is your age? _____
10. Rate what is most important to you in improving the quality of education?
 1 ____ Teacher training
 2 ____ Small classes
 3 ____ Textbooks
 4 ____ O level exam preparation
 5 ____ Job preparation
 6 ____ Other, what _____

11. Do you think the quality of education is better in urban areas than in rural areas?

- 1 ☐ Yes, education is better in urban areas
- 2 ☐ Education is better in rural areas
- 3 ☐ Education is the same in rural and urban areas
- 4 ☐ Do not know

12. What suggestions would you make to your school and government to improve education? _____

13. Who should decide school policy?

- 1 ☐ Headmaster
- 2 ☐ Central government in Harare
- 3 ☐ District Council
- 4 ☐ Teachers
- 5 ☐ Parents
- 6 ☐ Community groups
- 7 ☐ Combination of people such as _____
- 8 ☐ Other _____
- 9 ☐ Not sure

14. You can put an X on more than one line, if appropriate. Do you encourage your students to:

- 1 ☐ Work in small groups
- 2 ☐ Ask questions in class
- 3 ☐ Read from books during class
- 4 ☐ Listen and take notes during the entire class
- 5 ☐ Other, comment _____

15. How much training do you have to teach? What is the highest level you have had?

- 1 ☐ University level training
- 2 ☐ Teacher training institute training
- 3 ☐ A level schooling
- 4 ☐ O level schooling
- 5 ☐ Primary education schooling
- 6 ☐ ZINTEC training
- 7 ☐ Litraid training

16. Please discuss the teacher training course you were in and what you liked or disliked about it?

17. Do you think distance education methods of teacher training are as good as institute training?

- 1 ☐ Distance education methods best, why? _____
- 2 ☐ Institute training the best, why? _____
- 3 ☐ Other, what and why? _____

18. What is the minimum level of schooling a secondary school teacher should have to be a good teacher?

- 1 ☐ Secondary schooling
- 2 ☐ Primary schooling
- 3 ☐ Institute training
- 4 ☐ University training

19. What do you think teacher training courses should teach? Be as specific as you can on what skills, information, etc. that these courses should teach? _____

20. How important do you think it is for a teacher to have gone through a teaching training course in order to be a successful teacher and why? _____

- 1 ☐ Very important
- 2 ☐ Important
- 3 ☐ Somewhat important
- 4 ☐ Not helpful at all

21. If you were asked to design a teacher training program for untrained teachers what would it be? _____

22. How do you prepare your students for the O level exams. Discuss what materials you use and how many hours you spend on preparation. _____

23. What percentage of students at your school who take the O level exams pass them? _____

24. Do you feel that your students are more advantaged, just as advantaged, or disadvantaged from other students in Zimbabwe in preparing for the O level exams?

- 1 ☐ More advantaged than most students, why? _____
- 2 ☐ Just as advantaged as most students, why? _____
- 3 ☐ Not as advantaged as other students, why? _____

25. What do you need that will help you better prepare for the O level exams? _____

26. What do you like most about teaching? _____

27. Who decides what textbooks your class uses?

- 1 ___ I do
- 2 ___ The headmaster
- 3 ___ The District Council
- 4 ___ The Central government Ministry of Education
- 5 ___ Other

28. Who should decide on what textbooks your class uses? _____

29. How important are textbooks for improving the quality of education?

- 1 ___ Very important
- 2 ___ Important
- 3 ___ Somewhat important
- 4 ___ Not important

30. List the different textbooks you use in school?

31. How important are textbooks in preparing students for the O level exams?

- 1 ___ Crucial
- 2 ___ Important
- 3 ___ Somewhat important
- 4 ___ Not important

32. Discuss how many students have textbooks in the class? Does your school have a shortage of textbooks? _____

33. Do the students own textbooks or borrow them? _____

34. If you have a library in your school, about how many books does it have?

- 1 ___ About 10 or less books
- 2 ___ About 11-50 books
- 3 ___ About 51-200 books
- 4 ___ About 201-500 books
- 5 ___ Over 500 books
- 6 ___ Do not have a library
- 7 ___ Do not know how many books

35. List five things you need most from government to improve education in your school.

- 1st _____
 2nd _____
 3rd _____
 4th _____
 5th _____

36. What do you think the purpose of education is?

37. Rate what is most important to you in improving the quality of education?

- 1 ____ Teacher training
 2 ____ Small classes
 3 ____ Textbooks
 4 ____ O level exam preparation
 5 ____ Job preparation
 6 ____ Other, what _____

38. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the District Council's efforts to find out what you need as a teacher? _____ Do you have access to District Council members to raise your concerns? _____

39. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the central government's efforts to find out what you need as a teacher? _____ Do you have access to central government officials to raise your concerns? _____ If so, who do you talk to? _____

40. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the quality of your students' education? _____

41. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your textbooks? If you do not have any, rate 0. ____

42. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your school's efforts to prepare students' for the O level exams? _____

43. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate the government's efforts to improve your school's education? _____

44. Give examples of what the government has done to improve education at your school. _____

45. On a scale of 1-10, ten being the highest and 1 being the lowest, how would you rate your community's (or village) efforts to improve your school? _____

46. Give examples of whom in your community has made efforts to improve your education and how they have done so. _____

47. Do people in your community have much impact on influencing government education policy?

- 1 ____ Members of my community have a lot of influence in determining government education policy. Members of my community who are influential are people such as: _____

They speak to the following members of government: _____

- 2 ____ Members of my community have some influence in determining government education policy. Members of my community who are influential are: _____

They speak to the following members of government: _____

- 3 ____ Members of my community have no influence in determining government education policy.

- 4 ____ I do not know.

48. Do you feel that the District Council is open to listening to your educational concerns?

- 1 ____ Yes
2 ____ Sometimes
3 ____ No
4 ____ Do not know

49. Do you feel that the Central Government listens to teachers' concerns when developing education policy?

- 1 ____ Yes
2 ____ Sometimes
3 ____ No
4 ____ Do not know

50. In what ways do you make your concerns known to government?

51. Do you think that when the central government decides education policy they consider needs of students, teachers, and societal groups enough?

- 1 ☐ Yes
- 2 ☐ Sometimes
- 3 ☐ No
- 4 ☐ Do not know

52. Who do you think should decide education policy?

- 1 ☐ Central government in Harare
- 2 ☐ Central government representatives at local level
- 3 ☐ District Council representatives
- 4 ☐ Other, please specify _____

53. Do you think education fees should be generated from local community or national government? _____

54. What role does the District Council play in devising educational policy for your school? _____

55. Any other comments below?

51. What does your father do for a living? If he has died, what did he do when alive?

- 1 ☐ Farmer/peasant/communal
- 2 ☐ Teacher
- 3 ☐ Business/bank
- 4 ☐ Craft/trade
- 5 ☐ Sells at market
- 6 ☐ Mechanic/repairs
- 7 ☐ Government (not teacher) what? _____
- 8 ☐ Professional (doctor, lawyer, nurse, engineer)
- 9 ☐ No work
- 10 ☐ Other, what? _____

52. What education has your father completed?

- 1 ☐ No school
- 2 ☐ Some primary
- 3 ☐ Finished primary
- 4 ☐ Some secondary
- 5 ☐ Finished secondary
- 6 ☐ A level
- 7 ☐ University
- 8 ☐ Other

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONS FOR HEADMASTERS

1. How many students in your school passed O levels last year?
2. What percentage of your school passed O levels last year?
3. What is cause of success or failure of your students on O level?
4. Compare your school's success on O levels to other schools in Zimbabwe?
5. What efforts has the Central government made to improve your students scores on O levels?
6. What do you think of LITRAID and ZINTEC teacher training programs?
7. What percentage of your teachers are trained and untrained?
8. What do you think the most important aspects of a teacher training program should be?
9. How much communication do you have with central and local government officials? Are you listened to?
10. Do you control textbook money and school fees? Who should?
11. What percentage of your students go on for more education?
12. What kind of jobs do they go on to?
13. How educated are your students' parents?
14. What do you like best and least about education policy in Zimbabwe?
15. What are your greatest needs and those of your teachers and students?
16. Should education policy be privatized or decentralized or equalized? How?
17. What do each of your students pay in school fees?

18. Discuss your supply of textbooks and library materials? _____

19. Location of School _____

20. Is your school a primary or secondary school? _____

21. Subjects your school teaches _____

22. What is your education? _____

23. Are your students mostly boarders or day scholars?

1 ___ Boarder 2 ___ Day Scholar

24. Do you think most of your students can continue their full-time education after they have completed your secondary school course?

1 ___ Yes 2 ___ No

25. What kind of course will your students study?

- 1 ___ An Arts course (by this we mean such subjects as English, foreign languages, history, social sciences, or geography)
- 2 ___ Science or mathematics course
- 3 ___ Engineering
- 4 ___ Nursing
- 5 ___ Professional courses (such as Law or Medicine)
- 6 ___ Teacher Training courses
- 7 ___ Agricultural Science
- 8 ___ Other courses we may not have mentioned, what? _____
- 9 ___ Not yet decided

26. What type of jobs can your students get? _____

27. What percentage of your students drop out? _____

28. What percentage of your students cannot find jobs after school? _____

29. What are your students' main religion?

- 1 ___ Methodist
- 2 ___ Presbyterian
- 3 ___ Roman Catholic
- 4 ___ Anglican
- 5 ___ Other Christian denomination _____
- 6 ___ Moslem
- 7 ___ Other (if so, what?) _____

30. If you were free to choose whatever Secondary School in Zimbabwe that you thought the best, which ones and why?

1st choice _____
 2nd choice _____
 3rd choice _____

31. What do you think is the best reason for choosing a Secondary School among these?

- 1 ____ It is near my home
 2 ____ It is a school with good examination results
 3 ____ It is not expensive to go to
 4 ____ It is of the same religion as myself
 5 ____ The courses given are not hard

32. Where do you live now?

Town or village _____
 District _____
 Region _____

33. How much education did your father and mother have? Put an X on the line next to the highest level that he/she reached.

Father

Mother

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 ____ Did not go to school | 1 ____ Did not go to school |
| 2 ____ Some primary school | 2 ____ Some primary school |
| 3 ____ Finished primary school | 3 ____ Finished primary school |
| 4 ____ Some middle school | 4 ____ Some middle school |
| 5 ____ Finished middle school | 5 ____ Finished middle school |
| 6 ____ Some secondary school | 6 ____ Some secondary school |
| 7 ____ Finished secondary school | 7 ____ Finished secondary school |
| 8 ____ Attended Teacher Training | 8 ____ Attended Teacher Training |
| 9 ____ Went to a University | 9 ____ Went to a University |
| 10 ____ Finished University | 10 ____ Finished University |
| 11 ____ Finished at another school | 11 ____ Finished at another school |
| 12 ____ Do not know | 12 ____ Do not know |

34. What is your father's occupation? Be very careful to explain the work he does exactly. Tell us who he works for and the kind of thing he does there. If he is dead, then write in what he used to do, if you know.

35. For whom does your father work?

- 1 ____ For himself
- 2 ____ For a government department
- 3 ____ For someone else

36. How many hours a week do your students study?

- 1 ____ 1-2 hours
- 2 ____ 3-4 hours
- 3 ____ 5-6 hours
- 4 ____ 7-8 hours
- 5 ____ 9 or more hours

37. Please discuss how education policy is made in Zimbabwe and societal input on teacher training, textbook, and library materials and university policy?

38. What are good and bad points about each of the above policies?

39. How involved is the state in policy making versus societal actors?

40. What impact do you and your community members have in education policy at local and national level?

41. What role should you have?

42. Discuss the role of present actors in controlling school fees?

43. There was discussion of mismanagement of funds by some headmasters and district councils throughout Zimbabwe? Do you know of any?

44. What are your five greatest needs?

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____
- 5 _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

REFERENCES

- Askin, Steve. (1992, June 17). University of Zimbabwe Expels its 10,000 Students After Weeks of Protests Over Tuition Increase. The Chronicle of Higher Education. p. A37.
- Bhebe, M.M. (1990, October 25). Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard. 17(43). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.
- Bienen, Henry, & Herbst, Jeffrey (1991). Authoritarianism and Democracy in Africa. In Dankwart Rustow & Kenneth Erickson (Eds.), Comparative Political Dynamics Global Research Perspectives. (pp. 211-232). New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc.
- Birley, Robert. (1966). Report on the Commission of Enquiry. Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- Bratton, Michael. (1989, April). Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa. World Politics. 41(3), 407-430.
- Bratton, Michael, & Rothchild, Donald. (1992). The Institutional Bases of Governance in Africa. In Goran Hyden & Michael Bratton (Eds.), Governance and Politics in Africa. (pp. 263-284). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Bratton, Michael, & Van De Walle, Nicolas. (1992). Toward Governance in Africa: Popular Demands and State Responses. In Goran Hyden & Michael Bratton (Eds.), Governance and Politics in Africa. (pp. 27-55). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Bray, M., Clarke, P. B., & Stephens, D. (1986). Education and Society in Africa. London, England: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd.
- Carnoy, Martin, & Joel Samoff. (1990). Education, Social Transformation and Transition States in the Third World. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Central Statistical Office. (1979-1988). Budgets and Statistical Yearbook. Harare, Zimbabwe: Central Statistical Office and Government Printers.
- Chanakira, E.J. (1986). Teacher Education in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and Culture and the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1981 Seminar on Education in Zimbabwe Past, Present, and Future (pp. 137-144). Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production.
- Cheater, Angela P. (1991, January). The University of Zimbabwe: University, National University, State University, or Party University? Harare, Zimbabwe: Association of University Teachers, University of Zimbabwe.
- Chidzero, Bernard. (1989). Minister of Finance Budget Speech to Parliament. Harare, Zimbabwe: Government Printers.
- Chivore, B.R.S. (1990, April). Teacher Education in Post-Independent Zimbabwe. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production.
- Chivore, B.R.S. (1991). Curriculum Evaluation in Zimbabwe: An Appraisal of Case Studies. Harare, Zimbabwe: Books for Africa Publishing House.
- Chubb, John E., & Moe, Terry M. (1988, December). Politics, Markets, and the Organization of Schools. American Political Science Review, 82, 1065-1089.
- Coleman, James. (1965). Education and Political Development. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Craig, Robert. (1976). Principal's Report to Council. Salisbury, Rhodesia: University of Rhodesia.
- Dahl, Robert A. (1961). Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Dale, Roger. (1989). The State and Education Policy. Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press.
- Diamond, Larry. (1992, November/December). Democracy The Second Liberation. Africa Report, pp. 38-41.

- Dorsey, B.J. (1975, August). The African Secondary School Leaver. In M.W. Murphree, B.J. Dorsey, G. Cheater, and B.D. Mothobi, Education, Race, and Employment in Rhodesia (pp. 15-174). Salisbury, Rhodesia: Artca Publications.
- Dorsey, B. J. (1989). Educational Development and Reform in Zimbabwe. Comparative Education Review, 33(1), 46-52.
- Erikson, Robert S., Wright, Gerald C., Jr., & McIver, John P. (1989). Political Parties, Public Opinion, and State Policy in the United States. American Political Science Review, 83, 729-750.
- Executive Committee of the Association of University Teachers (1991, March 15). Financial Gazette, p. 6.
- Foster, Philip. (1965). Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.
- Fuller, Bruce. (1991). Growing-Up Modern: The Western State Builds Third-World Schools. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.
- Gatawa, Bernard. (1990). The Politics of the School Curriculum: An Introduction. Harare, Zimbabwe: The College Press.
- Giwa, Christopher. (1991, June 17). D-Day Hijacked!!! Harare, Zimbabwe: Students' Union.
- Graesser, Mark. (1978). A Critique of John Holm's Secondary Analysis of Political Involvement in Botswana, Ghana, and Kenya. In John D. Holm, Fred M. Hayward, Marc Howard Ross, & Mark W. Graesser, A Comparative Study of Political Involvement in Three African States: Botswana, Ghana, and Kenya (pp. 129-141). Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
- Greenland, J. (1982). INSET in the New Commonwealth-Africa. In A. Thompson (Ed.), In-Service Education of Teachers in the Commonwealth (p. 84). London, England: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Grindle, Merilee & John Thomas. (1991). Public Choices and Policy Change: The Political Economy of Reform in Developing Countries. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hassing, P. (1960). The Christian Missions and the British Expansion in Southern Rhodesia, 1888-1923. Doctoral dissertation.

Hayward, Jack. (1991). The Policy Community Approach to Industrial Policy. In Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson (Eds.), Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Headmasters are now accused of mismanagement. (1990, October 12). The Financial Gazette, p. 2.

Heclo, Hugh. (1978). Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment. In Anthony King (Ed.), The New American Political System (pp. 103-106). Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.

Heclo, Hugh & Wildavsky, Aaron. (1974). The Private Government of Public Money: Community and Policy in British Political Administration. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Helmsing, A.H.J. and K. Wekwete. (1987, June). Financing District Councils Local Taxes and Central Allocations (RUP Occasional Paper No. 9). Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe, Department of Rural and Urban Planning,

Hentz, James J. (1991, December). [Review of State Politics in Zimbabwe]. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 29, 712-714.

Herbst, Jeffrey. (1990). State Politics in Zimbabwe. Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Hirschman, Albert O. (1970). Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Holman, Michael. (1989, August 21). Zimbabwe 3; Tough Bargaining Follows the Merger. The Financial Times Limited. p. III.

Huntington, Samuel P. (1991). The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hyden, Goran. (1992). Governance and the Study of Politics. In Goran Hyden & Michael Bratton (Eds.), Governance and Politics in Africa (pp. 1-26). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Hyden, Goran, & Bratton, Michael (Eds.). (1992). Governance and Politics in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Introductory Survey on Ghana, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Rwanda. (1992) The Europa World Yearbook (33rd ed., Vols. 1-2). London, England: Europa Publications Limited.

Jacob, Charles. (1966). Policy and Bureaucracy. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.

Karimanzira, David. (1990, October 25). Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard. 17(43). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.

Karoro, Godfrey. (1992, May 18). Zimbabwe: Students Warn Government of Imminent Violence. Inter Press Service.

Keller, Edmond J. (1991). The State in Contemporary Africa A Critical Assessment of Theory and Practice. In Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson (Eds.), Comparative Political Dynamics Global Research Perspectives (pp. 134-160). New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc.

Key, V.O. (1961). Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Kingdon, John W. (1984). Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy. Boston: Little, Brown.

Lemarchand, Rene. (1992). Uncivil States and Civil Societies: How Illusion Became Reality. The Journal of Modern African Studies. 30(2), 177-191.

Levine, Daniel. (1988). Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy. [Review of Transitions from authoritarian rule: prospects for democracy]. World Politics, 40, 377-394.

Levy, Daniel. (1980). University and Government in Mexico. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Makamure, Kempton. (1991). The Struggle for Democracy and Democratisation. In Ibbo Mandaza & Lloyd Sachikonye (Eds.), The One Party State and Democracy (pp. 103-120). Harare, Zimbabwe: Southern Africa Political Economy Series (SAPES) Trust.

- Majone, Giandomenico. (1989). Evidence, Argument, & Persuasion in the Policy Process. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mandaza, Ibbo and Lloyd Sachikonye. (1991). The One Party State and Democracy The Zimbabwe Debate. Harare, Zimbabwe: Southern Africa Political Economy Trust.
- Matimba, Tafadzwa. (1992, June 15). Zimbabwe: Government Shuns Dialogue, Gives Rise to Conflicts. Inter Press Service.
- Mazrui, Ali A. (1990). Cultural Forces in World Politics. London: James Currey. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Meldrum, Andrew. (1991, September-October). Assault on Academe. Africa Report. pp. 63-65.
- Meldrum, Andrew. (1992a, March-April). Zimbabwe Uniting the Opposition. Africa Report. pp. 52-56.
- Meldrum, Andrew. (1992b, July-August). Zimbabwe The Kaunda Option? Africa Report. pp. 13-16.
- Mhlaba, Luke. (1989, October). Did Shava's Pardon Undermine the Judiciary? Parade, p. 15 & p. 22.
- Mitchell, Timothy. (1991, March). The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics. American Political Science Review, 85(1), 77-97.
- Monroe, Alan D. (1979). Consistency Between Public Preferences and National Policy Decisions. American Politics Quarterly, 7, 3-19.
- Monroe, Alan D. (1983). American Party Platforms and Public Opinion. American Journal of Political Science, 27, 27-42.
- Moyo, S. (1990, October 25). Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard, 17(43). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.
- Moyo, Jonathan N. (1992). Voting for Democracy Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe. Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Mudenge, S.I.G. (1986). Christian Education at the Mutapa Court: A Portuguese Strategy to Influence Events in the Empire of Munhumutapa. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

- Mungazi, Dickson. (1992). Colonial Policy and Conflict in Zimbabwe: A Study of Cultures in Collision, 1890-1979. New York, NY: Taylor and Francis Inc.
- Mutambara, A.G.O. (1989, October 2). In Defence of Academic Freedom. Harare, Zimbabwe: Student Representative Council.
- Ndebele. (1990, October 25). Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard, 17(43). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.
- Nordlinger, Eric. (1981). On the Autonomy of the Democratic State. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- No Retreat, No Surrender says SRC. (1990, May 4). Weekender supplement to the Financial Gazette.
- Novicki, Margaret. (1992, January-February). A Lesson in Democracy. Africa Report, pp. 13-17.
- Nzarayebani, L.G.C. (1990, October 24). Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard, 17(42). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.
- Official Report Zimbabwe Parliamentary Debates. Hansard. (1990, October 25). Harare, Zimbabwe: Jongwe Press.
- Page, Benjamin I., & Shapiro, Robert Y. (1983). Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. American Political Science Review, 77, 175-190.
- Page, Benjamin I., Page & Robert Y. Shapiro. (1992). The Rational Public Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Parker, Franklin. (1959, October). Education of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Comparative Education Review, 27-32.
- People in Africa Want Genuine Democracy. (1991, August 8). The Herald, p. 1.
- Professor Kamba Throws in the Towel. (1991, July 14). Sunday Mail, p. 1.
- Secretary for Education. (1987, December 31). The Zimbabwe Annual Report of the Secretary for Education. Harare, Zimbabwe: Government Printers.

- Skocpol, Theda. (1979). States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Skocpol, Theda. (1982). Bringing the State Back In. In Items (Vol. 36). New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Stoneman, Colin and Lionel Cliffe. (1989). Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics, and Society (p. xiii). London: Pinter Publishers.
- Sylvester, Christine. (1991). Zimbabwe The Terrain of Contradictory Development. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Thomas, Clive Y. (1984). The Rise of the Authoritarian State in Peripheral Societies. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Thompson, Leonard. (1977). Some Problems of Southern African Universities. In H.W. van der Merwe & David Welsh (Eds.), The Future of the University in Southern Africa (pp. 280-296). Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip Publisher (Pty) Ltd.
- Threat to Shut University Steps up Campus Tension. (1989, October). Parade, pp. 10-11 & p. 17 & p. 51.
- Wright, Gerald C., Jr., Erikson, Robert S., & McIver, John P. (1987). Public Opinion and Policy Liberalism in the American States. American Journal of Political Science, 31, 980-1001.
- Zimbabwe: University Threatened With Closure. (1992, June 19). Inter Press Service.
- Zvobgo, Rugano Jonas. (1986). Transforming Education: The Zimbabwean Experience (pp. 127-135). Harare, Zimbabwe: The College Press (PVT) LTD.

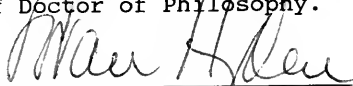
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mary E. Spear was born and raised in Silver Spring, Maryland. She attended Paint Branch High School and graduated in 1984. She attended Furman University and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science in 1988.

She began her graduate studies in political science at the University of Florida in the fall of 1988. As part of the program in political science, she studied comparative politics, public policy/administration, and international relations. In 1989, she spent the year studying at the University of Zimbabwe as a Rotary Graduate Scholar. During the summer of 1990, Mary worked as a student intern in the Political/Economic section of the United States Embassy in Accra, Ghana. In May 1991, she earned her masters' degree in political science and certificate in African Studies from the University of Florida.

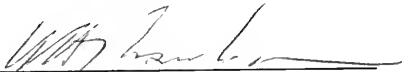
During the summer of 1991, Mary returned to Zimbabwe to work as a student intern in the Education and Culture section of the Ford Foundation and to undertake dissertation research. She passed her Ph.D. field exams in comparative politics and public policy/administration in April 1992. She defended her Ph.D. dissertation in June 1993.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Goran S. Hyden, Chairman
Professor of Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



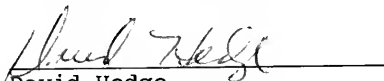
Walter A. Rosenbaum
Professor of Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



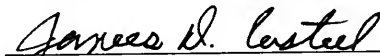
David Conradt
Professor of Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



David Hedge
Associate Professor of
Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



James D. Casteel
Professor of Instruction and
Curriculum

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Political Science in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1993

Dean, Graduate School

